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AFTER the news from France of the last two weeks there is no longer any excuse for illusions about the scope of the present German offensive and the object which the German High Command proposes to accomplish. The German government intends to secure a military decision of the most comprehensive and thorough-going character. That it was seeking some kind of a decision has, of course, been manifest since late in March, but what was not apparent in the beginning was the scope of the German military attack. Military critics plausibly argued early in April that if the assaults could be beaten off until the middle or the end of June, the striking power of the German army would be exhausted and the period of apprehension would come to an end. It is this argument which the recent news has shown to be illusory. The attack on the Allied line in Champagne which occupied the last days of May was manifestly only preparatory to later thrusts in the direction of Paris or the Channel, which will be intended to accomplish more decisive results. The German Staff planned it for the purpose of strengthening the position of the left end of its line so that it could later attack in the centre or on the right with less danger from a counter offensive. It would not have risked the battle in Champagne, unless it was convinced of its ability to continue throughout the next two or three months the exercise of the most intense pressure on some more vulnerable point of the Allied front. Evidently it has the resources in men and munitions to force the fighting for a much longer period than was generally believed. It is planning not merely to defeat the Allied armies but to exhaust them and render them incapable, if not of further resistance, at least of all counter-offensive power.

THE American public should look forward, consequently, to a summer which will put the severest possible test upon its powers of moral endurance. The emergency will call for a sustained exhibition of cool-headedness, resolution, patience and faith. There is no positive action which can now be taken by French, British and American civilians which will affect the results. The issue will be decided by the ability of the military authorities of the Allied nations to accelerate preparations which have already been begun and bring into action reserves of men and materials which are already somewhere on their way to the front. Those military authorities, no matter whether they be French, British and American, are entitled to complete confidence and unflinching support. The situation demands the giving of such confidence, not because their efforts to defeat the Germans may not deserve criticism but because criticism will do more harm than good as long as the crisis continues and the issue remains hanging in the air. There will be plenty of opportunity to assess praise and blame after the danger is over. The only way in which American civilians can actually contribute to the victory, which must eventually be won, is to assume for the moment that nothing is being left undone which will help to secure it. The battle is on and it must be fought with the men and the materials,

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which are already in an advanced stage of readiness. Confidence of this kind will be of the utmost assistance to the political and military leaders who are bearing the brunt of the contest and upon whose decisions will depend the success of the Allied armies in beating off the German assaults.

WHAT the Germans expect to gain by transferring the submarine warfare to this side of the Atlantic is only too clear. They cannot stop the movement of troop ships since the Allied destroyer fleets are adequate to the task of convoying from port to port. But they can throw the coastwise trade into temporary disorder, and they can force the American government to keep most of its destroyers on this side of the Atlantic. No doubt by giving us a close-range view of their power of destruction the Germans also hope to shake American morale and give impetus to the movement for peace. But the Germans must know that there is no movement for peace in America, and that we are too much of a continental nation to suffer in morale from anything that happens at sea. Indeed any qualified psychologist ought to be able to demonstrate to the Germans that occasional sinkings on the American coast could have no other effect than that of strengthening American determination to see the war through. If, to be sure, the Germans are at the point of being forced to acknowledge that the submarine, as a strictly military arm, is a failure—as they may well be—they have reason for trying to salvage what they can of the prestige of their navy by concentrating on commerce raiding exploits.

NOT even in autocratic Germany would it be possible for a judge to impose so heavy a penalty upon dissident opinion as Judge Van Valkenburgh imposed upon Rose Pastor Stokes. Maximilian Harden, for example, has allowed few weeks to go by without attacks upon the government's policy in comparison with which Mrs. Stokes's letter was merely mild comment. At times the German government has suppressed Harden's paper, and the threat of military service has been held over him. But the German government would not wholly gag Harden if it could. It recognizes the value of a safety valve for sporadic popular discontent. The German people are behind the war as they could hardly be if they believed that every writer and every speaker was being held narrowly to the defense of the government programme, or if permitted to veer away from this line only on the side of more extreme bellicosity than that of the government itself. But in the European countries the regulation of public opinion is directly under the control of central authorities with a well established technique. In America we leave this delicate matter to judges whose qualifications lie in other directions. Note the words with which Judge Van Valkenburgh sought to establish the wisdom of incarcerating Mrs. Stokes for a period of ten years: "To justify the stand taken [by Mrs. Stokes and her kind] logic, reason and human sympathy are speciously invoked, but no standards of such are recognized except those of the objectors themselves. Such opposition amounts to fanaticism and continues after debate has been closed by final action on the part of the constitutional authorities. Under the circumstances the only practical remedy is a stern and practical application of legal sanctions."

IT still remains possible that Mrs. Stokes may be granted a new trial, and that in the time that must elapse public sentiment will become educated to such an extent as to differentiate between a deliberate effort to impair the war power of the United States and what was in fact nothing but the repetition of socialistic articles of faith, tolerated and ignored throughout the world. But suppose that the decision of the lower court is sustained. The only relief from what we shall all come in time to consider a penalty wholly out of proportion to the offence would then lie in the President's power of pardon. Is it good policy to impose such a responsibility upon the President? He knows that to permit Mrs. Stokes to enter upon her prison term would support every revolutionary and anarchistic propaganda that may be launched in the coming decades. He knows that it will be used to give color to the assertion of our enemies that our freedom and democracy are shams. On the other hand, if he intervenes in behalf of Mrs. Stokes, he will expose himself to the attack of those elements in the nation who are secretly murmuring that the President's orthodoxy is not quite sound enough for them.

FINAL comment upon the action of the Supreme Court in declaring unconstitutional the child labor law must be postponed until we have had an opportunity of examining the texts of the majority and minority opinions. But whatever the comparative force of the two opinions, the effect of the majority decision adverse to the law cannot fail to be injurious both to the welfare of American people and to the prestige of the Supreme Court. That court has apparently decided that the safeguarding of the vitality of the American people by preventing unwholesome child labor is a matter of essentially local concern and that consequently it is not a matter for congressional regulation under the inter-state commerce clause. The question is

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one upon which equally good lawyers may hold different opinions, but in that case a bare majority of the Supreme Court does ill to bestow upon its dubious preference for exclusively local regulation the full force of law. In the long run American opinion will not consent to have social legislation invalidated and its social progress retarded by the necessarily accidental and arbitrary preference of one judge in a court of nine.

IF Representative Fordney's argument for increased import duties is representative of the statesmanship of his party, we have additional reason for congratulating ourselves that the destinies of the country are not now in Republican hands. Mr. Fordney appears not to have the remotest appreciation of the fact that the import situation is wholly abnormal, that most of our imports are either materials that we need in the business of making war, or the products of Allied countries that are laboring under heavy handicaps to maintain something like a sound economic balance. What Mr. Fordney is really aiming at is a restoration of the protectionist regime—protection for the country least affected by the war against the countries whose industries have been most heavily burdened by it. This anachronistic purpose he seeks to veil in the obsolete argument that a tariff duty "is the easiest tax in the world for the people to pay because when they pay it they do not know it." Since Mr. Fordney's time the people have become educated to the fact that they do pay such taxes. The capacity to estimate changes in the cost of living has become general. What is more, the people are no longer desirous of having taxes administered with an anæsthetic. We are paying our income taxes without murmuring; we shall not murmur if they are doubled. We may admit the desirability of increased taxes on luxuries, but only because we recognize that even the most thorough-going system of direct taxation could not reach all the income that ought to help to bear the burdens of the war.

MORE than seven months ago, when running for Mayor of New York, John F. Hylan brought two libel suits against the New York World. He asked for $525,000 in damages. Not long ago he asked for a postponement, which was denied. On May 31st he sent his lawyer a letter in which, after criticizing the court for denying this request, he made this explanation: "I am compelled, therefore, to ask you to discontinue the actions, as it seems to me that my first duty is to the public in these critical times, and that I should devote my full time and attention to the public business, and not to the prosecution of my private lawsuits and personal matters." Mayor Hylan adds that the "vindication" he received from the voters of New York last autumn is better than any "vindication" he could get in court. Fine words, these, but they do not conceal the truth that Mr. Hylan was bluffing when he sued the World and that he is now afraid of a show down. He has quit cold. None of the poor public appearances that Mr. Hylan has made is quite so poor as this his latest. It exposes to New York a crude circumstance of its choice of Mr. Hylan for Mayor, the more serious circumstances being the progressive deterioration of a city government which had almost been redeemed.

RAILWAY labor must recognize a most agreeable contrast between the process of wage determination under federal operation and that in vogue under private management. A competent Railway Wage Commission had recommended advances calculated to adjust wages to present day costs of living. By an executive order, applicable to the whole country, these recommendations are now put into effect, except that in certain particulars, where the Commission had made concessions to the inequalities of the earlier order, Mr. McAdoo has substituted provisions approaching more closely to the ideal of equal justice. Thus the old discriminations against women laborers and Negro laborers are swept away. Equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex or race—this is a reform that would have required decades under private ownership. We may be quite confident that the principle will survive after the war, even if the railways are returned to their private owners. And therewith we shall be delivered from one of the most fruitful sources of discord between employer and employee: the tendency to substitute the low paid labor of those who are weak in power of organization for the higher paid labor of those who can organize. It is also probable that the machinery of a body of experts for the continuous investigation of labor complaints, set up by Mr. McAdoo's order, will survive the period of the war, whatever the future of the railways may be.

PROVERBIALLY it is the busy man who has time to undertake new and difficult tasks. Perhaps the old rule applies to nations as well as to individuals. On this assumption, at least, the New York Academy of Political Science and the Bureau of Municipal Research arranged to hold a national conference on War Economy in New York City on June 5th and 6th. At this convention representatives of the Federal administration, state governments, municipalities, and civic bodies joined in the discussion of the

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administrative and financial problems growing out of the war. But it is not temporary emergencies alone which were considered. The place of executive leadership in a democracy, the relation of municipal financing to federal demands upon our national resources, the labor policies of the government, budget making—these are urgent matters not merely of the war but of national economy in the larger sense. Indeed it would seem that the interest in governmental efficiency which brought about administrative reorganization in Illinois, legislative reformation in Nebraska, and budget legislation in a dozen states or more is to be renewed and continued during the war with a promise of even larger and better results than were obtained before it.

EFFICIENT government which may have looked academic in happy days of surpluses is now becoming a matter of life or death. Placed in its proper setting in political science it is a fascinating as well as a critical theme for discussion. The Academy and the Bureau propose to deal with the subject in no superficial manner. Efficiency with them is no mechanistic scheme for laying out "tasks" for working-class automatons, but rather a system of vigorous and responsible leadership, wise planning, scientific (and therefore human) employment, exact cost measurement, and foresighted budget making. Even the unimaginative will see the new significance of such a programme. Had we given more thought to finance and administration, and trusted less to amateurs and improvised methods, not a few of the difficulties in the way of putting men and materials on the battle line would have been avoided. If we take up now with renewed zest the determination to make our organs of administration competent to highly specialized tasks—tasks which the war has not created but merely emphasized—we shall be all the better prepared to do our part in the days of gigantic movement enterprise and reconstructed industry which lie just ahead. The conference may indeed be the beginning of an organized national movement for transforming hopes of improved administration into realities. The American people have made out their income tax blanks, they have oversubscribed the Third Liberty Loan, they have responded in full measure to the call of the Red Cross. Have they the courage to enter upon an era of statesmanship in which promises and accomplishment, continuity in essential matters, and democratic responsibility may be joined in order that governments of the people may be better fitted to do wisely and well the work which the people have most certainly the right to expect of them.

The Plight of the Dual Empire

WHAT is to become of Austria-Hungary is a question the statesmen have been puzzling over for a generation. Must the empire dissolve into its mutually antipathetic elements, or can it find a new base to stand upon, more solid than the German-Magyar combination of recent times? Or finally, is it destined to become a satellite, or indeed, a mere possession, of its ruthlessly ambitious northern neighbor? The majority of the people within the empire would almost certainly vote for dissolution. So also would the Allied world, if a satisfactory guaranty were forthcoming that the lesser states thus created would not fall, one by one, into the German maw.

Around the House of Hapsburg there have been, for a generation, statesmen who have sought to find a new base in the support of the nationalities now held down by German and Magyar. Poles, Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs outnumber the combined German and Magyar populations today. Those Slavic peoples are increasing steadily in relation to the whole population. They have tremendous vitality, and with their awakening to national self-consciousness are acquiring political capacities which the Germans and Magyars cannot hope to suppress forever. It is generally believed that the victim of Sarajevo was ready to make the bold experiment of shifting the monarchy to a Slavic base, and one may surmise that a similar intention lay behind the unlucky peace tentative of the Emperor Charles. A peace imposed upon an unwilling Germany would have deprived the Hapsburgs of the moral support of Berlin, and without such support the Germans and Magyars could not long remain in control of the Dual Empire.

But this avenue of hope for the Hapsburgs was closed by the rejection of Charles's offer of compromise by France, and the subsequent publication of the Sixtus letter. An unsuccessful peace move is a peace conspiracy, terribly compromising to those who take part in it. The prestige of Charles suffered a fatal shock. He was in effect turned over to the Germans, bound hand and foot. And what use they mean to make of their moral advantage is clearly disclosed in the terms of the so-called military pact of the Kaisers.

By this pact Austria-Hungary binds herself to the thorough military training of all males fit for military service. Regulations for the organization, instruction and employment of the German and Austro-Hungarian troops are to be drawn up according to a common principle, the initiative of which shall rest with Germany. Armament is to be uniform; the troops of the two empires are to be brought into close contact and the officers are to

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be interchanged. It is easily inferable that men called up for service will be transferred, to a large extent, beyond their home boundaries, Jugo-Slav regiments to the Rhine Province, Pomeranians to Bohemia, for example. All this implies a rather more definite control by Germany over the man-power of Austria-Hungary than the control exercised by Prussia over Bavaria and Württemberg on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war. There was a question at that time whether Bavaria and Württemberg would carry out the terms of their military alliance with Prussia. But there can be no possibility that Austria-Hungary, with her army organized as one with the German, could, if she wished to do so, repudiate the terms of the Kaisers' pact.

At one point the Kaisers' pact appears inferior to the treaty which existed between Prussia and the South German states before the creation of the German Empire. There is no provision for economic union, except in so far as this is involved in military union. But Austria-Hungary is pledged to collaboration with Germany in essential preparatory economic measures bearing upon eventual war, and to the acceptance of a common railway policy. When one envisages the actual scope of economic preparation for modern war, one is forced to doubt that anything like a free hand can remain to Austria-Hungary, even in the economic sphere. What Austria-Hungary does or omits to do in the matter of stimulating manufactures and agriculture is quite plainly Germany's business, under the pact. How Austria-Hungary manages her finances is also Germany's business. Austria-Hungary is bound to maintain her armies on such a footing as Germany may dictate and to equip them for war according to German standards. This implies a military budget which the Austro-Hungarian parliament will not be free to vote or reject at will. It will be a heavy budget, exerting a tangible control over the whole political and economic life of the empire.

Austria-Hungary, then, is no longer a free and sovereign state. If Canada and South Africa and Australia may properly be denominated British possessions, in spite of their complete legislative, fiscal and military autonomy, Austria-Hungary may far more properly be denominated a German possession. The pact of the Kaisers, to be sure, runs for a limited period—twenty-five years—and can theoretically be denounced by either party at any time thereafter. But to revert once more to the analogy of the North German Confederation, Bavaria and Württemberg were bound to Prussia only by terminable treaty arrangements, until after the victory over France in 1870.

Austria-Hungary has become a German possession, in substance, but not in form. This is much, but it is not enough to satisfy the German Kaiser. To fulfill his ambition Wilhelm II must achieve a formal extension of German power that may throw into insignificance the extension of Prussian power achieved by Wilhelm I. And this involves the definitive absorption of Austria-Hungary. The annexation of recalcitrant Slavic territories on the east would plainly not add sufficiently to German power to justify the world war in the eyes of the generations to come. But an empire extending from the Baltic and the North Sea to the Adriatic and the lower Danube, powerful enough to give laws to the whole of Europe: this would be an achievement that would make all future German historians look back to the present as the age of true greatness. And does not the Kaiser now dream that such an empire is within his grasp?

He knows that he cannot proclaim it now. He has learned his statecraft in the school of Bismarck, who did not dare to proclaim the empire even after the successful war against Austria, but waited patiently to crown his emperor at Versailles. If Wilhelm II could take Paris a tremendous wave of romantic enthusiasm would sweep over the central European world. Would the Kaiser let the opportunity for the political reorganization of central Europe slip away from him? This is not likely, unless he is broken by the cares of war. Paris fallen would be made to serve as a pedestal from which to proclaim the consolidated Teutonic Empire of Central Europe.

The German offensive against Paris may therefore be assumed to have a two-fold objective: to crush the Allies, and to overwhelm Austro-Hungarian opposition to a pan-German empire under the House of Hohenzollern. Even the Kaiser must doubt that the fall of Paris would break down Allied resistance. But it would effectually seal the conquest of Austria-Hungary. And this would be a sufficient gain to justify Germany in moving for peace. As the text of the Kaisers' pact suggests, with all the man power of Germany and Austria-Hungary trained and equipped according to German standards "the future war will be of brief duration." Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how any country on the European continent would dare to oppose Central European designs by war.

But if the offensive against Paris fails, as now appears certain, what of the pact of the Kaisers? Its revocation will be one of the first peace conditions of the Allies. Nor will this be sufficient. The Allies cannot be content to leave in the hands of a Hapsburg the power to turn over an unwilling people to German domination. Either the Dual Empire must be altogether dissolved, or it must undergo a radical constitutional change which will

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place the Slavic and Latin elements in a position to checkmate German design.

Austria erit in orbe ultima: Austria shall stand to the end of time. Since Frederick first adopted the motto, in 1443, Austria has often come near extinction at the hands of her enemies. Today her enemies are her only hope. If they win, Austria-Hungary may survive, shorn of part of the territories she has misruled and politically regenerated within her proper boundaries. If her enemies lose, Austria-Hungary must perish, a prey to her ally. And she had thought to aggrandize herself by war, to plant herself solidly among the world's great empires.

What Can Be Done for Russia

IT is futile to scheme for an early return of Russia to the war against Germany. Russia is not in a condition to attack. She has indeed millions of men of military age: but what can men without cannon, without even adequate supplies of small arms ammunition, do against Germany? Under the old regime, to be sure, the Russians launched heroic attacks with bayonets and clubbed guns when ammunition failed; but the fact that they were forced to fight under such conditions was one of the chief reasons why the old regime fell. Neither America nor England nor France would send her sons into battle with such defective material as the best that Russia could now muster. America, England and France are democracies and can not drive their armies to fruitless slaughter. But Russia also is a democracy. Until she can be equipped for modern fighting she will not undertake the reconstitution of the eastern front. No Allied relief expedition—or, as the Russians say, punitive expedition—can affect this situation in any material respect.

Then let us wash our hands of Russia, cry the Allied militarists impatiently. But this would be to confess that we have no interest in Russia whatever except our own national self-interest. It would be further to confess that we can not comprehend even our national interests if they lie beyond the present military campaign. Least of all can America afford to make such a confession. America is in the war to protect the cause of democracy, and there is no democratic state now more in need of protection than Russia. America is determined to put an end to an international condition that makes such horrors as the present war inevitable. She means to overthrow military autocracy in Germany or to deprive it of its power to embroil the world. But the American design can not be accomplished if Russia continues to lie prostrate after the war. No terms of peace can keep Germany from seizing economic control of Russia if after the war the Russian people are starving. Nor can terms of peace prevent Germany from engineering a counter-revolution that will imply effective political control, if the revolution degenerates into anarchy. And a Germany economically and politically dominant in Russia would sooner or later become a military power with which no practicable combination of nations could cope. Wash our hands of Russia: that is to give Germany a free opportunity to constitute by intrigue the world power she has failed to constitute by arms.

But granting that we recognize the perils involved in leaving Russia to her fate—and few Americans can be altogether blind to them—what is there that we can do? We can contribute very materially to the economic rehabilitation of Russia and in so doing we can exert a moderating influence upon Russian political development. We can help Russia to attain to a condition of domestic stability which will offer no opportunity to German peaceful penetration.

In Russia we have to deal not with a highly organized industrial state, but with a land of peasant communities, for the most part nearly self-supporting. We are therefore not confronted with the necessity of organizing a vast system of importing food for a whole population, as in the case of Belgium. There is a serious problem of conveying food from the districts where a surplus is to be found to the districts where flood or drought, failure of seed or of labor power has produced a scarcity. There is a still more serious problem of supplying the urban population—relatively a small minority, but strategically of immense political importance. All the evidence at hand indicates that the domestic grain trade of Russia has fallen into great disorder. The machinery of exchange and transportation has broken down. How far this is due to proscription of merchants accused of profiteering, how far to currency disorders that have thrown the country back upon the uncertainties and inconveniences of barter, may remain for the historians to determine. What is of present importance is that even the most extreme of the Bolsheviki recognize that the grain trade must be rehabilitated and would gladly accept the assistance of American business experts. The work can not be carried on successfully without funds, but America could afford to risk a little money on Russia. Let us remember that grain supplies put within the reach of Russia's hungry population are thereby put definitely out of reach of Germany.

Russia is also in need of industrial products, in vast volume, and her industry, always primitive and inefficient, is now at a standstill. Here again the situation differs markedly from that which ob-

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tains in the western European nations. For most of Russia's pressing requirements the raw materials are available within Russia's own borders. She does not need to go abroad for wool for clothing, hides for shoes, iron for the minor domestic uses. There is a knotty question of distribution to be solved: the trade in materials has decayed and stocks are waiting to fall into German hands unless the trade can be rehabilitated. There is no insuperable obstacle to its rehabilitation by American business methods well supplied with American funds.

But in the case of industrial products a still more difficult problem is involved: that of manufacturing organization. Bolshevik economics has doubtless proved very effective in discouraging industrial production. But doctrinaire as the Bolsheviki are, convinced as they are of the superiority of their ideal system of distribution, they have come to recognize that production must somehow go on. If American enterprise could be loaned to Russia for purposes of manufacturing organization and with no claim for profits, the Bolsheviki would not be opposed to the concession of the conditions under which it could operate.

There is no question that Russia might greatly benefit from generous shipments of machines and other industrial products. The tonnage situation makes such shipments impracticable for the present, but it would be worth much to the western nations to possess accurate information as to Russia's requirements when the close of the war relaxes the shortage of shipping. In the meantime, what is most essential is to aid Russia in the distribution and utilization of her own resources. And the obligation of extending such aid rests upon America. Other nations might be suspected of ulterior designs; but not even the most suspicious Bolshevik can credit America with schemes against the integrity or the independence of Russia.

The Western Union and the Government

THE dispute between the Telegraphers Union and the two telegraph companies raises the most fundamental issue which can at the present time be raised between capital and labor. It is the issue of power. President Carlton of the Western Union Company is in many respects a comparatively enlightened employer. He has gone beyond the majority of his associates in recognizing the social standards which ought to determine the hours, the wages and the conditions of work in the Western Union offices. But on one point he is adamant. He not only refuses to have any dealings with a telegraphers' union but he acts upon a policy of discharging any Western Union employee who holds a union card. It is this policy which is the bone of contention. The Commercial Telegraphers Union proposes to call a strike against both the telegraph companies unless certain of its numbers, dismissed because they have joined the union, are reinstated. The National War Labor Board, not unanimously but as a consequence of the vote of ex-President Taft, has decided that in prohibiting the organization of its employees the telegraph companies have created a grievance which, if it is permitted to endure, will provoke and justify labor agitation and unrest. It has proposed compromises, but Mr. Carlton refuses to budge. He prefers to have the government take over the telegraph companies rather than consent to the unionizing of their employees.

Labor unionists should be grateful to Mr. Carlton for submitting to the government and to public opinion the issue in this sharp and uncompromising form. We do not know whether as a matter of fact the employees of the telegraph companies are as completely without grievance in respect to conditions of work as Mr. Carlton claims, but let us assume that they are. Let us assume that the management of the Western Union Company is in other respects a model employer, and that it denies to its employees nothing except power, nothing except the ability to present and, if necessary, to insist on terms of employment which the management will not willingly grant. Why should this refusal to permit its employees to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining be considered an offense in a corporation which in other respects is considerate of the interests and welfare of its wage-earning workers?

The answer is obvious. It is the same answer that free men have always returned to an autocratic and paternalistic government. In the long run no body of men are sufficiently disinterested and socially alert to be trusted with the welfare of complete dependents, and, even if they could be trusted, the relation in that case between the employer who possessed all the power and the employee who was obliged to accept uncomplainingly conditions of employment over which he had no control would be unsound and unholy. It would be a relation between the master whose virtue consisted in being strong but considerate and the servant whose virtue consisted in being obedient, willing and weak. Moreover, a body of employees such as the telegraphers would be particularly weak. For as individuals they would be bargaining with corporations which provided the only sufficient American market for their services, and if they were not content with the terms offered to them, they could assert their independence only by ceasing to be

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telegraphers and by learning some other trade.

The issue is, consequently, fundamental, more so than any difference as to hours of labor or rates of wages. The Telegraphers Union is fully justified in raising it, even in the midst of war, and when it is raised a democratic government must necessarily side with the union. If this is a country in which the government approves as a matter of public policy the denial by public service corporations of the right of wage-earners to organize, the sooner the wage-earners realize it the better. The policy is an impossible one for a sincere democratic government to adopt, and if our government did adopt it, there would in the long run be only one possible method of securing the labor necessary to win the war—the method of thorough-going industrial conscription. Many employers would, of course, be only too glad to have the administration adopt coercion, but the President very wisely prefers government by consent. The National War Labor Board was formed for the purpose of organizing during the war industrial government by consent, and agreed upon a protocol which, in spite of the present attitude of the employers now on the Board, clearly condemns the action of the Western Union Company. If a strike is called because of President Carlton's adamantine insistence upon discharging such of his employees as join the union, the administration will have no alternative but to seize and operate the telegraph service. It cannot allow that service to be crippled, and it cannot deny to the telegraphers a sound excuse for striking, when the object of the strike is to secure the reinstatement of union telegraphers and the abandonment of the anti-union policy of the telegraph companies.

Yet if the government is forced to seize the telegraph companies, it will only be restating rather than actually solving the difficulty. Presumably the telegraphic lines would be operated by the Post Office Department, but the attitude of the Postmaster General towards unionism is not essentially different from that of Mr. Carlton. Will the President back Mr. Burleson in discouraging unionism when he has deposed Mr. Carlton for doing the same thing? Moreover, how will he deal with the very objection to which Mr. Carlton always returned as an insurmountable obstacle to the partial unionizing of the telegraphers? Mr. Carlton declared that if he shared his power with the union he would be depriving himself of the means to enforce his responsibility for supplying the nation with a trustworthy telegraphic service. In insisting on this difficulty Mr. Carlton was not merely trumping up trouble. If the telegraphers are allowed to organize but their union remains unrecognized, the power acquired by the union will be left irresponsible and the management which is deprived of the power will not be deprived of the responsibility. That is the weakness of the compromise proposed by the War Labor Board. It permits unions to exist and to grow, but does not incorporate them into the organization of industry. Some such compromise has an immediate justification because of the present weakness of the union, but in the long run it will have to be supplemented. The War Labor Board will be obliged in the end either to recognize the unions and bestow on them a preferential treatment in return for assuming definite responsibilities as to the quality and support of labor or else it will react towards the strong-arm policy of Mr. Newcomb Carlton.

The A. F. of L. Convention

THE American Federation of Labor will hold its thirty-eighth annual convention in St. Paul on the tenth of June. Always until this year the Federation convened in November after the national elections. For years it has had its legislative committees, it has sent its lobbyists to the conventions of the great political parties, it has formulated its demands for protective legislation and then offered its political support to the highest bidder. As the representative of organized labor, the Federation has maintained a timid attitude toward politics. It has feared the disruptive effect of a too explicit political partisanship upon its own constituency. It has preferred to make its political activities entirely subsidiary to its activities in the economic field. Militant in the mines and factories, it has been going, cap in hand, a self-distrustful suppliant to the anterooms and lobbies of the two great parties.

The American Federation of Labor has been shy of politics because the status of organized labor in American life has been much like that of the oppressed nationalities in Europe. Such consideration as the unions have been able to secure from Congress and the State Legislatures has been repeatedly nullified by the superseding authority of the courts. Until 1836, when Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts reversed the decree of the lower court in the celebrated case of Commonwealth vs. Hunt, the unions were perpetually harried by conspiracy charges. The recent decisions of the courts in the Danbury Hatters case, in the case of Coppage vs. Kansas, and the Hitchman case have tended to carry the tyranny of the old English common law across Justice Shaw's decision and to force the unions into a perpetual fight for existence. The concentration of their energies upon the economic field has not been so much a matter of choice as of necessity. While the power and authority of the

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courts could nullify all protective legislation without arousing effective public protest, politics remained discredited and faith in political remedies at a discount. The stigma placed upon organized labor by the hostile attitude of the judiciary has forced the unions to resort to methods not unlike those which have been employed by the Poles, the Czechs, the Jugo-Slavs to maintain their nationalistic integrity. Under the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. vs. Mitchell et al., there are few labor organizers in the country today who are not risking indictment for contempt.

But the exigencies of war have forced the Federal administration to sanction and encourage policies that are equally charged with the essence of contempt. The necessity of mobilizing millions of workers into the shipyards and munitions plants has compelled the administration to turn to the unions for cooperation. In order to cooperate effectively the unions have had to carry their work of organization into plants from which by the ruling of the United States Supreme Court they are technically barred. Recognizing this necessity, the Taft-Walsh Labor Policies Board has promulgated and the President has endorsed policies which are in flat contravention of the Supreme Court's decisions.

In normal times the great anti-union corporations would undoubtedly have opposed the progress of the unions with injunctions and every entanglement of conventional litigation. With the President and governmental commissions created by his authority openly fostering collective bargaining as a war necessity, and with the sentiment of patriotism supporting the President, the great anti-union corporations are one by one placing their opposition in abeyance. After years of successful opposition, the great packers, under the guiding hand of the President's Mediation Commission, have recognized the right of their employees to organize. The packing industry is in practical effect upon a collective bargaining basis. Representatives of the United States Steel Corporation have entered into reluctant conference with representatives of the American Federation of Labor. For the first time in the history of American organized labor, the unions have been relieved of the necessity of centring their energies upon the fight for existence. A power, momentarily at least transcendent over the power of the courts, has decreed their security and domesticated them in the body politic.

But this new security is at best factitious. It rests upon an abnormal public sentiment and upon the favor and perspicacity of a President whose liberal views have permeated neither the Supreme Court nor Congress. Unless the American Federation of Labor consolidates its momentary conquests and makes them impregnable, a sudden termination of the war, or, if the war drags on through the next presidential campaign, the inability of President Wilson to secure the election of a successor inspired by his own democratic sentiments and ideals, might wipe out the gains of organized labor and sweep its forces back. For its future security, it cannot afford to rely upon anything but its own moral and intellectual solidarity. And there is a dangerous possibility that unless momentarily prevailing public sentiment and the policies of a well disposed administration are carried into the next Congress and crystallized into law, the detached solidarity of the A. F. of L. may be unequal to stem the tide of possible reaction. To consolidate and hold its gain, to give substance to what is factitious in its present strength, organized labor will be compelled not only to take a more aggressive attitude toward the old political parties but also to prepare its forces for the hazards of independent political action.

This is undoubtedly the real significance of the shifting of the national convention from November to the eve of the congressional elections. Without openly abandoning its traditional attitude of veiled neutrality in advance of the announcement of the party platforms, the organized labor movement of America is manifesting a new sense of its political power and responsibility. Already, across the border to the north, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has taken aggressive steps to strengthen the bonds between the Canadian Trades Unions, Canadian Farmers and Cooperative Organizations, and the Canadian Labor party.

It is not likely, it would probably be gravely unwise for the American Federation of Labor to take such a radical step as the launching of an independent labor party at the forthcoming convention. In 1916, the Federation threw its weight behind the candidacy of President Wilson. Its confidence has been wholly justified. It will undoubtedly go on record in appreciation and endorsement of the President's policies. It will seek to make advocacy of those policies its test of the right of candidates for Congress to its support. It will undoubtedly look to the Democratic candidates especially to make these policies their own and to that extent pledge the Democratic party to act as the trustees of the interests of organized labor. But it is inconceivable that the convention will not also have the foresight to prepare for the possible return of a hostile Congress or for the possible contingency that the majority of the Democratic candidates themselves may belong to

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the Burleson rather than the Wilson wing of the party. Organized labor will be left in an extremely precarious position if the convention fails to prepare its forces for independent political action in the event that both parties repudiate President Wilson's labor policies as the Republican party has already announced its determination to do.

At the moment the American Federation of Labor is faced by a contingency only; but it is a contingency charged with such serious consequences to the future of industrial democracy that it calls for as sober preparation as if it were a fact. In the event that an unhappy turn in the present congressional alignment should deprive the unions of the unchallenged support of the President, organized labor would have to be prepared to carry its appeal back to the electorate. Until now it has taken shelter under the President's personal prestige. It has made his domestic and foreign policies its own. By identifying support of the President with patriotism, it has curbed anti-war tendencies among the workers, it has held them together for the production of munitions, it has made a major contribution toward the fulfilment of the administration's war programme. If the coming election should impair the President's prestige, the prestige of Mr. Gompers and his associates in leadership would suffer an even greater impairment. Dissension would arise within the ranks of organized labor, there would undoubtedly be sporadic revolts against the restraints which the war labor machinery has imposed upon the freedom of individuals and local unions; the radical minority within the Federation would undoubtedly remobilize its opposition from within, while an unsympathetic or hostile congress would crystallize opposition from without. The authority of the Supreme Court, as expressed in the Coppage and Hitchman cases, might again rise to its traditional ascendency in the public mind.

All these considerations make it imperative that organized labor through its national representatives should come squarely before the electorate with policies and a programme of its own. It will have to give independent expression to its position on war aims and international relations. Where does it stand with respect to the reconstruction programme of the British Labor party which has been endorsed by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada? Is it for an imperialistic or an international peace? What is its present attitude toward scientific efficiency in industry? Are its economic interests parallel with the public interest in the maximum production compatible with health and the leisure essential to enlightened citizenship, or is it purely *wage conscious,* interested in capitalizing the war emergency to get the highest wages and the lowest hours that the traffic will bear? What is its attitude on taxation, on the permanent nationalization of the railways and other public utilities, on the development of water power and the future status of land tenure? What is its programme with respect to compulsory military service after the war and for the demobilization of the draft army? What are its aims with respect to the extension of democratic control over industry? Upon these questions and many more of vital concern to the public, the organized labor movement will in self-defense have to take an independent and responsible stand. For the power which it exercises today, the new privileges which it enjoys are not likely to be sustained by public opinion unless it demonstrates its capacity for a statesmanlike acquittal of the responsibilities that go with the privileges.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor have often asserted a conventional resentment against the criticisms and suggestions of "outsiders." But all true democrats today, all workers who live by hand or brain or both, are vitally concerned in the decisions of organized labor. Whether, which God grant, democracy is victorious on the fields of France, or whether it suffer the incalculable tragedy of a temporary check, its future and inevitable development rests in the hands of the workers of the world and primarily with the wage workers. As in England and the dominions of the British Empire, so too in America those whose hearts think democracy look to the organized labor movement for leadership. That leadership the British Labor party has greatly asserted in behalf of the democrats of England; the convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in St. Paul next week will show whether the organized workers of America are prepared to assume a similar leadership here.

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A School of Social Research

AFTER the debacle of the Franco-Prussian war, Frenchmen began to consider seriously and searchingly how far their country's defeat by Germany could be attributed to past neglect in organizing education. As a result of this inquiry many changes were subsequently introduced into the educational system, and among the innovations there was one which should be of peculiar interest to Americans of today. A group of private citizens started the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques, the object of which was to train students for public administration and to apply scientific methods to the subject matter and the problems of politics. The new school differed from the faculties of law or government in the Sorbonne partly because it was not directly controlled by state officials and partly because it was planned to accomplish a special and exclusive work. Inasmuch as it was to study the foundation of the state and the operation of political institutions, its professors needed to pursue their inquiries under conditions which would emancipate them from obligations to the prevailing government; and in order to emphasize the importance of the subject matter and pull the several phases of the work together, they needed to isolate the study of politics and forge out of the inquiry a new and special discipline. The school has realized at least some of the expectations of its founders. It has contributed substantially to the improved standards of public administration in France and to the steadily increasing vitality of French legal and political thinking.

There is a group of Americans who hope to start an analogous, if not a similar, institute in this country. The prospectus calls for an independent school dedicated exclusively to the study of the subject matter of modern society. The curriculum would include anthropology, psychology, modern history, political and commercial geography, international relations and public law, jurisprudence, government administration and public service, economics, finance and statistics, industrial organization, social management and labor organization and administration. Its faculty would enjoy full control over the appointment and dismissal of professors and over the educational policy of the institution. Its founders would seek to bring together a group of men and women who were already contributing to the advancement of science in their own special fields of study, and in whose scientific ability and integrity the community would have full confidence. The administrative work of the new school could be cut down to a minimum. It would be dealing almost exclusively with advanced students, who would not require supervision, and in a city like New York which is so well provided with libraries it could dispense with an expensive equipment of buildings and laboratories. By devoting all its resources to teaching and scientific investigation it could make a comparatively limited endowment go very far.

This proposed school is an enlargement, adapted to American conditions, of the idea underlying the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques. The French school was intended to improve the operation of free political institutions in France by creating opportunities for the disinterested teaching and investigation of the science of politics. In an hour of national distress a few Frenchmen called science and scientific method to the assistance of their distracted country and thereby renewed France's faith, which received its first expression during the Revolution, in the salutary power of ideas in politics. In the same way the new American school will, it is hoped, contribute to the social education of the American people and to the better realization of the social ideal, implicit in American democracy, by promoting the disinterested investigation of the subject matter of modern society and by deriving therefrom more serviceable social disciplines. It will study society rather than politics, because political science can no longer be profitably isolated from anthropology, psychology, economics and social organization, but just as the French school has studied politics in the expectation of improving French political practice, so the American school hopes to make social research of immediate assistance to a bewildered and groping American democracy. It also springs from a faith in the creative power of ideas which is no less implicit in the American than in the French national tradition.

Modern society is undergoing a process of quick and radical transformation, which most of its official leaders are insufficiently prepared to understand and control. The war has forced this transformation on popular attention by altering to a dangerous extent the pre-existing balance of social forces, but the transformation itself has been going on for generations and was destined soon to come to a head. The industrial reorganization and the technical advance of the last century has started it in its career and determined its character. Scien-

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tific method was applied to the satisfaction of certain special economic needs with prodigious success and with the result of enormously increasing the control of man over nature and the accumulated fund of negotiable mechanical and social power. The war has helped us to realize at once what enormous resources science has placed at the disposal of the human will, and the imminent danger that these resources, if not better subordinated to social purposes, may contribute to the frustration rather than to the promotion of human progress.

The increasing ability of parts of the community to gratify important but selfish needs and merely particularist purposes threatens the integrity and balance of both individual and social life. Science has unintentionally placed a huge accumulation of method and power at the disposal of the dominant class. Under the traditional legal and economic system the surplus values created by technical investigation and industrial expansion, which were in part the gift of science and should have added much to the heritage of society as a whole, have been used chiefly to satisfy the special and frequently the exclusive needs of comparatively few people. The result has been a forced growth of moral and social particularism. Those who reaped the benefit of technical progress were reluctant to consider its fruits as anything but their own property. Those who believed themselves dispossessed could see no way of socializing the surplus save by anti-social agitation and even violence. The technical experts to whom society owes so much have themselves yielded to an excessive specialization which has limited their social sympathies. The result is not only bewilderment but distraction. Human society as a composite whole, whose continuity depends upon the preservation of a flexible balance among its parts, is in danger of being torn to pieces by irreconcilable class enmities. The integrity of human nature itself is threatened by the elaborate and unruly machinery which science has enabled enterprising men to create for the realization of particular and headstrong ambitions. Insurgency against moral order in human life is in the air. War and Jacobinism, either militarist or Bolshevist, are the final expressions of this rampant particularism. In the past mankind could put up with war, because of its limited power of destruction, but now science has placed all the resources of the air, the water and the earth at the disposal of those who wish to accomplish their purposes by violence. They must be subdued or they will destroy humanity in the individual and in society.

The new school will be founded in the faith that science can give back to mankind some of the security and integrity which its own capture by individual, national and class particularism has jeopardized. There is a huge volume of social aspiration and purpose in the world which is enfeebled in its expression chiefly because of the lack of an adequate technique. If it is to prevail, if even it is to survive, it must elaborately prepare a counter social offensive against the existing kingdoms of scientific particularism and class exclusiveness. It must study particular social processes and problems as exhaustively, as concretely and as practically as physical and biological processes have already been studied. It must contrive and use experimental methods just as they have ever been used in physical laboratories, and it must seek this increasing understanding of social processes for the sake of exercising an increasing control over their subsequent behavior. In this way only can humanism acquire the technique of social progress which it needs in order to make headway against the increasingly formidable organization of social particularism and reaction.

There is, of course, nothing very new and nothing very startling about the purpose of the proposed school. The idea of a social science which would be useful in supplying a technique of social progress is implicit in the humanism of the Renaissance. It became almost explicit in the French eighteenth century philosophers; it obtained a freakish and pedantic maturity in the work of Auguste Comte; and it has during the past two generations been elaborated, tested and analyzed by hundreds of thinkers in all modern nations. The new school would build on this broad foundation, but in so doing it would have an unpretentious but substantial advantage over its competitors. The work of forging an improved technique of social progress ought to be accelerated by bringing into existence a school which concentrates the whole intellectual energy of its staff upon the study and mastery of social processes. Its singleness of purpose would save it from merely duplicating the departments in our existing universities which are already studying the same subject matter. It would have an advantage over those departments similar to that which the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques has over the Sorbonne. Because it was financially independent and was governed by its teaching staff, it could pursue its work without a fear of interference from those class and official interests whose social behavior it would necessarily investigate. Because it fastened all its attention and resources on a study of the subject matter of social progress, it could follow its work through in a way that, as we shall see presently, promises to accomplish results of greater practical importance.

Notwithstanding the many able and original

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minds all over the world which have been adding to the fund of authentic social knowledge, the achievement has not as yet been commensurate with the effort. There are many reasons for this comparative failure, but probably the outstanding reason is the preconceptions which the pioneer students of the new science derived from the older sciences and from the traditions and interests of the existing social establishment. These preconceptions hampered the development of a method of inquiry appropriate to the subject matter of social processes and relations. The pioneer sociologists all attached excessive importance to certain general laws, which in their opinion provided the clue to social progress, and these laws did not take sufficient account either of the complexity of the actual processes or of the part which human will and intelligence played in modifying their course. The classical economists, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx, Benjamin Kidd, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, are all examples of students who attached too much importance to their own partial and tentative generalizations and who as a consequence falsified the technique of social progress. One of them would conceive it to depend upon the administrative nihilism and the abdication of the collective will; another on the triumph of instinct and emotion over reason; another on enlightened selfishness; another on a fatal revolutionary catastrophe, and still another, on the world domination by the long-headed blondes. Their inquiries added much to the understanding of social changes, but chiefly because they furnished subsequent inquirers with very complete explorations of the most tempting blind alleys, which ran across the highway of social progress. All of them were too arrogant, and their arrogance was born of the initial presumption of seeking a law of social change which would land the voyagers at a preconceived goal.

Contemporary social scientists are escaping from this arrogance. Many of them approach the subject matter of social change as something which is essentially fluid and which because it is both complex and fluid can best be understood by the human intelligence in proportion as it is modified by the human will. Thus a school of social science becomes above everything else an instrumentality both of social purpose and of social research. Its instructors would have much to teach, but they would have more to learn; and they would need to have placed at their disposal the leisure and the funds required for an unending series of investigations. They would be exploring a continent whose boundaries still remain to be discovered and which changes so rapidly that new charts are needed usually before the old ones are completed. But the very elusiveness of the material and the difficulty of understanding its changes as we understand those of the physical world, instead of discouraging the attempt to obtain the knowledge, may well stimulate the great research. The function of social experiment is emphasized by the fact of social fluidity. The work of understanding social processes is entangled inextricably with the effort to modify them. Every addition to the technique of social progress will automatically produce an increasing fund of social knowledge and an increasing validity of social planning.

The most important agencies of social experimentation are, of course, the state and the immense number of voluntary associations which breed and flourish in the soil of every progressive society. A school of social science must deal with these essays chiefly by subjecting them to analysis and investigation, but there is a more limited field in which it can initiate and guide as well as investigate concrete experiments. The ordinary business of society is made up of a vast amount of private effort, whose success is impaired from the want of a sufficiently conscious social impulse and which blunders from lack of trustworthy information. No adequate educational agency has as yet been provided to graduate men and women who are trained specifically to engineer and to man these private social impulses. No sustained attention has been bestowed upon the discovery or the invention of a specific discipline which will equip students for such work. Schools of social science could and should fill this vacancy. They could and should equip their graduates for social research by training them to infuse social research and method into the existing fabric of social effort.

The performance of this task is the ultimate justification for an independent special school of social science. The departments in economics, politics and sociology in our existing universities have trained students for teaching those branches of knowledge, but they have not supplied any training which would qualify graduates successfully to infuse social purpose into the work of society. The economic departments have developed schools of business administration but in these schools the study of social questions raised by business activities has not been considered relevant to business success. The departments of political and social science have done little or nothing to train graduates in social or political administration. While in several large cities groups of public-spirited citizens have started schools of philanthropy, which are training that peculiarly American product "the social worker," these schools are the offspring of a charitable rather than a scientific impulse, and their training has been restricted within too narrow limits. Yet they are an innovation in the right direction. What

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we need is schools of social science which are also training schools for social service, and which will gradually give to the work of social administration, engineering and research a professional standing similar to that now enjoyed by physicians and lawyers.

But the scope of the professional training which an adequately equipped school of social science should supply should go beyond that of any existing school of philanthropy. It would first of all need to train men and women who were capable of dealing practically with problems of labor adjustment. It is in this region that experiment, determined by a social purpose and corrected by disinterested scientific research, is most lacking and has services of unquestionable value to perform. The existing friction between the wage-earning and the employing classes can be ameliorated in many ways as a consequence of political and economic reforms, but the permanent success of political and fiscal measures, such as those proposed in any programme of reconstruction, depends finally on the working out of successful methods of cooperation between the managers of industry and the rank and file of the laborers. A serviceable technique of labor management forms an indispensable, perhaps the most indispensable part, of any technique of social progress. In order to be serviceable it must be based upon the reconciliation of a high standard of productivity with hours of labor, conditions of employment, rates of remuneration and an amount of industrial self-government which will be satisfactory to the workers. A school of social science should train graduates equipped to go into a manufacturing plant, analyze the failures and successes of its management in dealing with its employees and suggest methods of increasing labor efficiency which would operate, not in spite of the workers' indifference or hostility, but because of their understanding and consent. Manifestly such pupils could not be trained in a lecture room or library. They would need to study the actual operation of plants in which attempts had already been made to reconcile productive efficiency with a prosperous, willing and independent body of employees.

In addition to training labor administrators, the school would need also to discipline pupils for public administration and social management. The attempt to train public administrators and social workers would be less of an innovation than the attempt to train labor administrators, but for all that the task would not be any easier. There is a fundamental difficulty in equipping graduates for public or social administration which does not exist in the case of equipping them for labor administration. The labor administrator would carry on his work with the consent of the employers and employees in any particular plant. He could be fitted into existing business organizations. But the public or social administrators are experts who work either for charitable institutions or the state, and fall usually into a false relation with the people whom they are seeking to benefit. They are generally in the position of extending aid to comparatively needy and disfranchised people, who do not always understand what they are doing and who frequently resent the ensuing patronage. Philanthropy has increased its serviceability as the result of organization and research, but the more expert it becomes, the more it tends to patronize its beneficiaries. Although the success of modern social programmes is impossible without the aid of expert administrators, all expert administration still remains an artificial limb strapped on to the shrivelling extremities of American local democracy. American democratic tradition and organization is hostile to the expert, whether he be a state official or a social worker. He cannot flourish unless he can obtain from his less sophisticated fellow citizens more understanding for his work and sympathy with it. Any school which proposed to train social engineers and experts, whether for public or private employment, and failed to take into consideration the place provided for them by American democrats, would be ignoring an essential part of its work.

Schools of social research which are alive to their opportunities and responsibilities will study the local and industrial organization of the American democracy particularly in relation to the incorporation of the expert in its fabric. They should even go further than that. They should encourage and support experiments in democratic organization which seek to create units in American social and economic life better adapted than those which now exist to the functioning of the expert in a favorable popular environment. The success or failure of the whole plan would depend upon breaking down the class suspicion with which the plain American people regard the expert and in turning out experts who would not justify such suspicions. The job cannot be accomplished merely by multiplying their number and in trying to persuade people of their value. It is a problem of experimental organization. Our American social and political units were created when the specialist expert was unimportant. Conditions have made him not only important but indispensable. Yet our social and political units still omit to recognize his positive political functions and in order to operate he has to be imposed upon the people by state orders or philanthropic pressure. If, consequently, the American nation is to

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allow its social fabric to be permeated with social purposes, it must reorganize its business, political and social units to the end that the divorce between the plain people and the experts who are capable of working out in detail better methods of social progress will be brought to an end.

Finally, there is still another specific social service which a school of social research could assist its graduates to perform. It could equip them to become effective disseminators of ideas. If it should neglect this specific task the vitality of every other aspect of its work would be very much impaired. The school is born in general of the conception of a modern nation as a political group which proposes candidly and thoroughly to learn the lessons of its own experience and which gains experience by testing its ideals in practice. If such a nation is to learn the lessons of its experience it must not only have faith in ideas and in people who live for ideas, but it must pay far more attention to the way in which ideas are and should be propagated. Manifestly the investigation of this phase of social activity is central in the work of any school of social research. It would need to undertake an intensive study of the psychology of opinion and conviction, of the existing methods of spreading opinions and of the way in which those methods should be changed in order to safeguard and to promote vitality of public opinion. It needs to graduate men and women who are trained to penetrate the minds and the hearts of people with ideas, and who in doing so could inculcate conviction without dogmatism and toleration without infirmity of purpose. Their business would be not only to communicate warmth of social impulse and the fruits of social experimentation to the mass of their fellow-citizens, but to carry on a warfare against the enemies of ideas. They would have to contend good-humoredly but ruthlessly both against those propagandists who were trying to reproduce in other people's minds an impregnable protection against the intrusion of ideas and those even more insidious enemies of vitality in public opinion who propose to "sell" ideas to the American people by methods which are enjoying an evanescent success in the case of breakfast foods.

In the foregoing account of a possible school of social research I have emphasized the practical aspects of the school's work. I have suggested certain ways in which its graduates could be trained for specific and important social jobs, and which are either ignored or insufficiently emphasized by existing universities. If practical disciplines of this kind could not be furnished, the school would not in my opinion be worth starting, but, important as it would be to extract from social aspiration and knowledge some kind of professional training, I do not wish to over-emphasize its possible ability to equip students for practical work. Like all schools which are entitled to the name, its essential business must be the pursuit of truth and it must be planned primarily to carry on this business without fear or favor or misgiving. Its chief affair would be to turn out graduates who, whatever their subsequent occupations, were trained to think hard and straight, and who would have the courage, the flexibility and the alertness to look a disagreeable and changing reality in the face. If it did not succeed in stimulating both the inquisitiveness of its graduates and their ability to satisfy this intellectual demand, it would fail of its purpose even though it flooded the country with people miscalled social engineers.

But we are to seek the truth because the truth shall set us free, and the truth about social processes and relations will never set us free if it is sought only or chiefly by contemplation. We must create the experience upon which contemplation feeds. It is by the road of practical experimentation that mankind will learn how far it can bring a high standard of human association to the aid of a high quality of individual fulfillment, and if we are to travel this road we must be guided to our goal by a conscious social purpose and a much more sophisticated social practice. Let us not then allow ourselves to be betrayed by a false antithesis between grace and works. The very fabric of civilization is endangered because the results of scientific research, of the pursuit of truth, is being used not to set men and women free but to fasten upon them a more crushing bondage. The world needs, consequently, truth seekers who are not indifferent to the uses to which their science is being put and social evangelists who are capable of adapting the results of scientific research to the needs of their own mission. If humanism is to triumph over the headstrong and capable particularism which is the immediately dangerous enemy, it must anticipate in the lives of its own promoters the beginning of that better cooperation between science and social purpose, between the intelligence and the will, which it hopes to spread throughout the world. Probably such cooperation will not go very far until it receives an impulse from the restoration of religion to a worthier place in human life, but the religious revival, if it comes, must come when and where it pleases. In the meantime, something can be done to anticipate by education the birth of the new faith, and in this pedestrian job, schools of social research, such as the one sketched herewith, could make an indispensable contribution.

HERBERT CROLY.

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"A.E.," Poet, Painter and Economist

I

IT does not often happen that a government calls upon a mystic to help in the making of a constitution. Yet such a signal event took place when George Russell (A.E.) was made a member of the convention that offered an Irish constitution to the British government.

He did not stay in it to the end. But he brought to the convention, not only his vision and his good counsel, but a remarkable volume of practical knowledge and practical experience. He is a poet, a painter and a mystical teacher; he is also an editor, an organizer of national cooperation and an economist of remarkable vision. A.E. indeed presents the unusual spectacle of a two-armed worker. Most of the world's workers are one-armed; they grasp the sword or the portfolio, the pen, the brush or the chisel with one hand, and the other, because it has been trained to no service, hangs lame and limp. But A.E. is two-armed; with one hand he paints, writes poems and sketches the outlines of a philosophy, vast, cosmic and inclusive, and with the other he leads or pushes a farmer or an artisan towards the cooperative commonwealth. His Socratic sense of citizenship forced him to train his second arm. "My temperament," he says in a preface to one of his books, "would only allow me to be happy when I was working at art. My conscience would not let me have peace unless I worked with other Irishmen at the reconstruction of Irish life." It is fortunate indeed for Ireland that this remarkable son of hers should have had such sense of citizenship as led him to train both his hands.

II

A.E. has little patience with a criticism that reads literary ideas into pictures. I remember a lecture that he gave me. It was on the subject of an article I had written explaining some local painter's work in terms of literature. The point of his lecture was that pictures exist for their pictorialness, and have nothing to do with the ideas of literary men. That is true, of course. I do not want to read literary ideas into the pictures of A.E. that come before me now. But A.E. has a notably single mind, and his pictures and poetry, his philosophy and his economics, all flow from one idea. Therefore, it is natural to say that in his pictures there is a mood which can be interpreted through his poetry.

The beauty that is in his landscapes is evoked by the reverence that is in his mind for the earth itself. For him Earth is not gross matter: Earth has divinity:

> Who is that goddess to whom men should pray,
> But her from whom their hearts have turned away,
> Out of whose virgin being they were born,
> Whose mother nature they have named with scorn
> Calling its holy substance common clay?

And these landscapes are seen by one who looks upon them as part of a holy land—a land in which Lugh or Angus or Mananaun might appear. By the pools of lonely water in the lonely bogs one might have a memory of that dim beginning that is spoken of in The Voice of the Waters—the memory of when:

> Flame and flood and stars and mountains from the primal waters broke.

To A.E. the figures that stand there or move across are part of the landscape, they are like the upright stones of primeval worship.

Then there are the elemental spirits, call them fairies if you will, that often come into A.E.'s pictures. One comes before the plowman who is turning up a furrow; others surround the mortal who has put his feet upon enchanted ground. When you look on these figures you may feel, as one observer at least has felt, that with these beings A.E. has brought something extraordinary into painting, he has suggested beings of another order than our own. Artists have painted for us gods and demi-gods and angels. But these have always been exalted types of men and women. And artists have painted fairies before, but they have always shown them as diminished or attenuated human beings. What A.E. paints are not human beings exalted or diminished, they are simply beings of a different order from our own.

A.E. has declared repeatedly that painting and poetry should make us familiar with a desirable life. Hence he loves to paint children at their frolic or girls making play in a wood. "The final test of a picture or of any work of art," he says, "is its enduring charm." He tells us that everything painted or written is a symbol of the mind that creates. "If we were wise enough," he writes in an appreciation of the work of two other Irish artists, of Nathaniel Hone and the elder Yeats, "if we were wise enough we would see that in art the light on every cloud, and the clear spaces above the cloud, and the shadows of the earth beneath are made out of the lights, infinitudes, and shadows of the soul, and are selected from nature because of some correspondence, unconscious or half felt."

III

About twenty years ago an Irish public man thought of introducing into Ireland the methods of agricultural cooperation that had gone to make

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Denmark a prosperous modern state. The public man was Mr. (now Sir) Horace Plunkett. One of the first men he put upon his staff was the art-student, poet and theosophist, George W. Russell, who was then earning his livelihood as an accountant in a dry goods store in Dublin. He became an actual organizer of the movement, and now for some years past he has been the editor of its organ, The Irish Homestead. A.E. made himself the philosopher of the cooperative movement generally, and he prophesies a social reconstruction based upon the cooperative idea.

He perceives that every state today is torn across by divergent economic interests. Every state has more or less of a religious, racial and political conformity. But under that conformity there is an unceasing and an increasing economic conflict. He prophesies that the state will have to emerge from that conflict into a communal life, into an actual unity, into "National Being."

The phrase "National Being" brings us to A.E.'s revolutionary idea. For him the nucleus of the state is not its military or its economic organization. The nucleus of the state comes out of a spiritual idea held, or partially held, by the people. Let us take America as an instance. A.E. would say that the American state exists to make potent the idea of democracy—of a free and accessible relation between man and man. Other states exist to make potent other ideas—Russia, perhaps, to make potent the idea of the spiritual life of the individual. The ideas that the states embody are each complementary, and there need be no conflict between them. There is a conflict, however, and it arises because in every state the national idea is imperfectly understood and imperfectly manifested.

And the national idea is imperfectly understood and imperfectly manifested because there is no inner harmony, because an economic divergence cuts across each state. A.E. would show us that it is the mission of every state to discover for itself the idea that is given it to represent and then to manifest this idea as powerfully as may be. In order to permit this to happen the economic divergence within the state must be made less and less and ultimately abolished. There must be no such thing as slavery, that is to say, the means of subsistence should never be at the disposal of any industrial autocrat. Production must not be egotistic and competitive, making for enmity, but harmonious, making for brotherhood. Further, democracy and aristocracy must be combined for production—an aristocracy of will and intellect furnishing the leadership in economic production. All classes in the community must have a chance of sharing in the culture and intelligence of the day; the farmer and the rural laborer should have as clear a sense of what is happening and as fine an intellectual leadership as the people in the cities.

The way to these conditions, A.E. tells us, is through cooperation and the creation of the cooperative commonwealth. And Ireland, because the mould of civilization is not yet set, because a national organization has yet to be formed, may well be the first state to emerge with a complete cooperative organization. The idea that Ireland has to manifest is the idea of brotherhood.

It is necessary to say in conclusion of this brief sketch of A.E.'s thought that the ideas he speaks about are in his philosophy direct emanations from the divine world. They incarnate first in the higher minds of the nation and thence they are reflected down to the mass of the people. It is the mission of poets, scholars, artists and philosophers to transmit the national idea. The more strongly the idea is held the more powerful becomes the national being, because, as he says, "the synchronous vibration of many minds in harmony brings about almost unconsciously a psychic unity, a coalescing of the subconsciousness of many. It is that inner unity which constitutes the National Being."

IV

Before Nietzsche had made known to us his notion that the universe was creation designed by an artist for the æsthetic pleasure of artists, A.E. was speaking of it as the Adventure of the Spirit Errant. Men in his reveries are the strayed Heaven-dwellers; they are divine beings who have descended into chaos to win a new Empire for the Spirit; they are the angels "who willed in silence their own doom"; they are the gods who "forgot themselves to men"; they are kings in exile who await the hour of their restoration. This thought of man as the strayed Heaven-dweller runs through his poetry, his pictures and his economics. The claim in his economics is to make way for man who is divine in his soul and his imaginings.

Like all mystics A.E. is content to express in his poetry a single vision, a single intuition. We are eternal beings. Further, the earth we tread on is alive, the earth is a great being. Poetry of mystical vision seems empty when it is only a call to meditation. But A.E.'s vision, like the vision of Saint Theresa and William Blake and Michael Angelo, is heroic. Heroism is praised in his poetry. The will is dwelt upon as well as the intuition—"the sword of will," "the imperial will." There is stern speech for those who would give up action for contemplation—

> We must pass like smoke or live within the spirit's fire;
> For we can no more than smoke unto the flame return

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If our thought has changed to dream, our will unto
desire,
As smoke we vanish though the fire may burn.

Lights of infinite pity star the grey dusk of our days;
Surely here is soul; with it we have eternal breath;
In the fire of love we live, or pass by many ways,
By unnumbered ways of dream to death.

Then there is his poem, The Three Councillors, which it is good to dwell on in these days. The last Councillor counsels neither war nor peace, but it is the counsel, I think, of the second that A.E. most often harkens to—

It was the fairy of the place,
Moving within a little light,
Who touched with dim and shadowy grace
The conflict at its fever height.

It seemed to whisper "Quietness,"
Then quietly itself was gone;
Yet echoes of its mute caress
Were with me as the years went on.

It was the warrior within
Who called, "Awake, prepare for fight;
Yet lose not memory in the din;
Make of thy gentleness thy might;

"Make of thy silence words to shake
The long-enthroned Kings of earth;
Make of thy will the force to break
Their towers of wantonness and mirth."

It was the wise all-seeing soul
Who counselled neither war nor peace:
"Only be thou thyself the goal
In which the wars of time shall cease."

As one reads his Collected Poems one has a sense of hearing a deep sound in nature, a sound that becomes more significant as one listens to it. How is it that these short poems, very many of them only of three stanzas, give one the sense of fullness and profundity? It is because they are all glimpses of the same river of vision.

One might speak too of a power he possesses, the power that is so effective when a real poet uses it, the power of rhetoric. When one reads his oration, On behalf of some Irishmen not Followers of Tradition, one has to acknowledge that eloquence in verse could hardly be more stirring. The oration is by way of reply to the ultra-Celtic party who would deny the Irish heritage to those who are not of Gaelic name and stock. And yet no Irish poet has had such reverence for the Celtic past of Ireland. He has dared to make the obscure deities of Celtic mythology as potent as the Olympians; when he speaks of Angus, Dana, or Lugh he makes them great and imposing figures. The heroic age for him is the heroic age in Ireland.

No poet of our civilization is as cosmic as A.E. Everything he knows, everything he feels, has a history that is before the stars and sun. His own face reflected in an actual river recalls the brooding of the Spirit over the Waters. The sorrow and helplessness that has entered his own heart is the shadow of the dark age that the world has entered into. And the thought that is in this stanza is not far-fetched for him:

We liken love to this and that; our thought
The echo of a deeper being seems;
We kiss, because God once for beauty sought
Within a world of dreams.

It is from such spiritual spaces that A.E. now and again makes a social or political declaration—such a declaration was his eloquent Letter to the Dublin employers during the strike of 1913, and such another was his recent letter to the Manchester Guardian on behalf of the Irish Nationalists. Few men can say with as much sincerity as he: "I see all this with grief. I have always believed in brotherhood between the peoples, and I think hatred corrupts the soul of a nation."

PADRAIC COLUM.

Useless Occupations

WHAT is utility? I confess that I see some difficulties ahead of a government which aims to define useless occupations. For any occupation, even the quaint survival of beef-eaters or papal militia or congressmen, there is likely to be some argument—possibly fanatical and wild-eyed, but still an argument. It is too easy for the energetic high official to tag a given occupation as useless and hustle away. An occupation should be nothing but gaping ribs and dried bones, like a desert horse or a ship stranded time out of mind, before it can properly be called useless. But this is no criticism of the principle. The principle, on the contrary, is magnificent. Rightly applied, applied vigorously, it opens a new world.

The kind of world varies, of course, according to one's preferences. With the modesty inherent in the human race, the new world of which I was thinking was the one I myself should prefer. A world which had lifted up its face to me and been cosmically shaved. Shaved of beadles, book-reviewers, bishops, brokers, bridge-players, bar-maids and innumerable others, shaved until it was a world shining and rosy, a happy uncle of a world of which I was the favorite and indeed exclusive nephew. To see useless occupations eliminated so deftly would be a pleasure singular and by no means cruel.

I take a gross example. There is an order of

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human beings in the United States that plays a lifelong game called express. This game consists of rushing motor-trucks madly through the main streets of big cities, pulling up with a jerk at the wrong railway station, hurling one trunk after another with gleeful ferocity on to concrete floors, and then crashing as many southbound trunks as possible into westbound trains. I should assemble all the etiolated gentlewomen of America and place them in charge of handling baggage, with no trunk so large that anyone could entertain a personal grudge against it. The old-fashioned professors of baggage-smashing I should convert into missile-troops.

And neither motor-trucks nor passenger motors should be allowed into my well-behaved cities until, at the city limits, the motorist had had all his power to make noise removed from him and a mechanician had made the machine temporarily incapable of exceeding eight miles an hour. All physicians, fire-chiefs and sporting Yale graduates would be issued a special permit to travel at nine miles an hour. This would not apply to Princeton men. The object would be remove the useless-noise-occupation and useless-speed-occupation from Americans, to save useful gasoline for Mr. Rockefeller, to give up useless motor-homicide, and to remove the wooing of sleep in hot, noisy, smelly, dirty American cities from the class of useless occupation into which it has rapidly fallen. This is not less true of North Adams, Mass., or Madison, Wis., than it is of Chicago or New York or Boston. And where hotel-proprietors have failed to guarantee the noise of motors to their sleep-buyers (which is seldom) they either supply the charms of railroad bells or police whistles or the rumbling and crashing of trolley cars or the Nocturne Polonaise that comes up the airshaft from dishwashing during interminable hours. Why not a noiseless dish? There are few things more desirable in this world than a good-looking, reliable, noiseless, self-washing dish.

The great national occupation of dishwashing, practised for 100,000,000 persons three times a day, less the Jack Sprats of the country, is now nominally a "useful" occupation, like removing snow or shaving or reading Sunday newspapers or eating that great product of modern business efficiency, unripe fruit. But it is not so much a useful occupation as a nuisance not yet mitigated. Some day the snow will fall on heated roadways. Some day hairs will cease to be grown in order that they may be numbered. (Is any occupation less useful than this well-known occupation of hair-numbering?) Some day the Sunday newspaper will be less like an unripe strawberry—coloring-matter, pulp, water, a little sugar, a little acid—and more like an edible fruit. But newspapers suggest so great a problem in uselessness that one wonders why the news is not printed on postage stamps by the government, so that Mr. Burleson could bring you the true truth right from headquarters, and, according to Mr. Huyler's perfect motto, "fresh every hour." This would simplify the entire question of opinion. Of what use is opinion? To hold the wrong opinion is surely disadvantageous. Why not hold the right opinion? And who can supply the right opinion? Mr. Burleson. By removing the face of George Washington from the postage-stamp and printing in its stead all the news that people need to know, a great many gentlemen would be released for superior activities.

There are many editorial writers who would love to serve their countries, or country, "in any capacity." For my own part I can best see them, in the R-less months, on the bathing beaches saving innocent lives from the immitigable shark. Perched high on sun-beaten look-outs, I behold these born life-savers raising a thirst, a spiritual thirst for life-saving, new even to themselves. I can see them dotting both flanks of our perilous coast in their ennobling service. This would release the rest of that husky guild which for so many years has exhibited with such perfect insouciance the brands of the amorous sun. But what use could be made of all the advertising giants who would be set free by the supersession of periodicals, I have not the faintest idea. An advertising giant is so special to himself, so like a bearded lady or any other extra of nature, that it would be highly dangerous to reduce him back to life-size, to shrink that part of him which he thinks is his afflatus and which others think is his gall. The emotional equilibrium of an advertising man is established so gradually that to take away his useless occupation abruptly would unbalance him. I can conceive of no end quite worthy of the advertising profession.

That is the difficulty with specialized occupations—providing for the occupants elsewhere. As Mr. Taft said so painedly to Mr. Roosevelt in the bad old days, "We can't all be President." When you've had the climax, how can you go on afterwards? How, after being an advertising man, can you consider going back to human nature? Yet this is the problem involved in a removal of useless occupations.

There is one useless occupation, however, which I am willing to see eliminated without regard to the future employment of the occupants. That is the self-painting occupation of New York women. Unless, of course, they learn the new and admirable art of painting so that at a civil distance the painted object becomes invisible. F. H.

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Our Faith in Foch

"VERY few realize," Napoleon wrote, "the strength of mind and thought required to determine to fight a battle with the thorough realization of its consequences, upon which the fate of a nation will depend."

It is to fight this battle, the last act of which will decide not only the fate of a nation, but of all the great free nations of the world, that the Allies have entrusted to General Foch the strategical direction of operations.

Having been under the orders of General Foch during the battles of the Marne, of the Yser and of Artois from 1914 to 1915, and at the present date, though in quite a different capacity, I should like to point out by what method of work and command his personal action is demonstrated. This rapid sketch will suffice I am sure to explain the faith we have in General Foch.

By the strength and uprightness of his character, as well as by his great intelligence and his military science, he is the accomplished type of a chief—a chief modest and simple, who shows himself only in the serious hours, when responsibilities crush others, and who then takes them with a resolution, an energy and a serenity which astound everyone.

Thus it is that once called to command the Allied armies on the 26th of March, one week sufficed him to justify this choice in the most striking manner. It were childish to believe that it has sufficed to name one Supreme Chief ipso facto to eliminate all the mistakes of not having had one for too long a time. Nothing occurs in a war which does not date back to some previous incident. If the political and military plans are entirely separate in the execution, they are closely bound in the preparation. The German plan which is now being demonstrated was not formed last March, but a long time ago. It was prepared by the German political leader in order to give the military leader who conceived it and who is now putting it to the test, the maximum of strength, efficiency and opportunity. Therefore it is not in three months' time that the Allies, handicapped by the present numerical superiority of the enemy and by the time the Germans have gained over them in preparation, will be able at one and the same moment to conceive, prepare and execute a plan for the decisive victory. That which can be done by their Commander in Chief at the present time is to hold the German plan in check, whatever it may be, and to prepare for the future. Foch has already wrecked this plan in northern France and he will continue to do so till he possesses the assured means of winning.

It is not only in the study of history and by patient labor in time of peace that Foch has formed his clear and rapid understanding of modern war; it is the result of personal and constant work during this very war.

From his researches at the beginning of 1915 on tactical proceedings suited to trench warfare, up to the choice of that fighting doctrine of great units which he was entrusted by Joffre to put to a splendid test on the Somme in 1916, he never ceased working for a single day.

The same intellectual effort which he constantly imposes upon himself, he also requires from all his subordinates in every circumstance during action as well as during preparation. I remember that on the evening of January 23, 1915, having been directed to follow all the phases of a trench attack on the Yser, I heard his voice over the telephone asking me: "Has this been done? . . . That? . . . Have the first positions taken been reinforced? . . . The earth shoveled? . . . Wires set up? . . . Communications opened? . . . Flanks protected? . . . See to it yourself, whether it has been done or is being done. Repeat it once more, in other words, make the brains work." "Make the brains work," was one of his customary sayings, doubtless because his own are so constantly working. Thanks to this personal work each time a new war situation appears, his mind, accustomed to synthesis and, according to his own expression, to "gymnastics" from the study of concrete facts, quickly comprehends the situation and defines it. He then subordinates all the particular interests to the solution of the main problem.

Essentially a definite person, once in action he retains only positive facts upon which he will build his plans. This is the reason for his requiring great clearness in all reports verbal or written; he never allows two ideas to be given him at the same time. If someone commits this error, a gesture, well known to his staff, which seems to push aside any second thought, is invariably accompanied by the brief remark: "I don't follow you any longer," or "That is ancient history—go on," when it refers to facts without any bearing on the decision to be taken.

During the execution even more than in the preparation, he admits neither delay nor carelessness and his natural kindliness stops as soon as the country's interests are at stake.

I think that no one has pushed as far as he the notion of the value of time. It can be said that

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he has never lost one minute and it would not be an error to affirm that he has gained precious ones.

This is no place to speak about his loyalty to the Allies. They have given him the greatest tribute; present events speak for themselves and make words unnecessary. I only wish to make clear how the personal action of such a chief works, and how the boundless reserve of energy which he carries in himself is transmitted to his subordinates during the most serious hours of the war, those which we have known recently and those which we are going through at present.

For it is not enough to realize that on October 14th, in the one hundred kilometre gap stretching from Arras to the North Sea, Foch made a human dyke in a few days of all the Allied troops gathered together for a supreme dash and definitely stemmed the German rush. It is not enough to realize that from the 21st of March up to the 5th of April he stopped once more in the direction of Amiens the enemy's most formidable effort to separate the Anglo-French armies. One wonders how such results are obtained, how a man coming alone into the midst of events which seem stronger than human will, succeeds in mastering them. It is an enthralling problem of military psychology, that of the High Command.

The solution I am giving may still be incomplete, but it is backed by facts that history will later disclose. General Foch's theory is approximately as follows:

1st—To forbid any commanding officer, no matter what his rank, to contemplate a retreat not imposed by the battle, in other words, to give any order to retreat before having fought.

2nd—By the word "fighting" Foch means the obligation to fight with all means and no restrictions or limit, adding to the weight of the last battalion that of the determined will of the Chief in order to tip the scale.

3rd—With this method of fighting, three years of war are a proof that one is never completely defeated. A retreat may follow, imposed by the enemy, but in one's energy, in that of one's troops, in the rapid organization of the ground, one can always find means of holding out till the moment when the Chief in whom one has faith intervenes directly or indirectly to help one through.

This is the finest theory of the value and the use of moral forces during the battle. It is the one Foch himself used on the Marne and the one he demands of his subordinates. Events have always shown him to be right.

If this seems simple, it is only because principles are always simple. Difficulty lies only in the *execution* when the interests and the passions are in contradiction, when "if," "but" and "because" darken the outlook. Then will the action of the Chief be felt—its powers to coordinate all the energies, to transform the half will into whole will, like his own. For Foch this action consists essentially:

1st—in imparting his faith.

2nd—in giving orders, the execution of which is inevasible.

3rd—in insuring their entire execution.

Everyone knows indeed that the subordinate's action is dependent upon the double confidence which he has in the Chief who orders, and in the movements ordered.

With Foch, the first condition is fulfilled, since he long ago proved himself. The second is also rapidly gained because it depends upon the first. Whoever has heard Foch can no longer doubt him. The thought of the Chief penetrates his subordinates and becomes their very own.

Besides, General Foch expresses his thought in orders so clear, so precise, so simple, that there are no two ways of interpreting them. When the meaning is obvious, one obeys because one has to.

However, General Foch's action does not stop here. He would say: "Anybody can give an order," but commanding means insuring *execution.* "For war is, according to Napoleon, a simple art and *all in the execution.*"

This principle Foch applies firmly; as in everything he goes to the bottom of his reasoning. Through his officers, who go and see and are allowed to report only that which they have definitely ascertained; in person also, if need be, he insures execution of his orders. That is why this execution corresponds to his thought.

Thus he was as he appeared to us as early as 1914, and thus he has remained ever since, the Chief to whom the Allies have entrusted the direction of the formidable battle which is just beginning again after a short lull. Although he was named during the battle, any criticism of the past would be foolish. The present time must be employed not in regrets but in action, and the present events must be everywhere faced with that coolness and faith and that will to overcome them, of which the combatants and their great Chief give us such a splendid example.

Everyone must know that the conditions are hard and that the time has come to strain to the utmost every energy; but one must also remember that Foch has already victoriously faced similar situations, that he is the man for such situations, and that he deserves full confidence, that his soul is indomitable. At the present time, he is once more the embodiment of well grounded faith in our ultimate success.

E. RÉQUIN,
Major, French General Staff.

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Books and Things

WHAT do people mean, what have they in mind, when they call Alice Meynell a mannered prose writer? It is not easy to say. Here, as elsewhere, different persons who use the same word are thinking of different things. Mrs. Meynell uses rare words—in Hearts of Controversy (Scribner's), her new volume of essays, she calls Swinburne's passion "rachitic." But such words occur seldom in her temperate pages, her preference being for words so placed as to be unfamiliarly and delightfully expressive. Perhaps the manneredness is due to the habit into which this preference leads her, the habit of writing "at ignorant random," as if "at random," which says almost the same thing, were somehow not quite good enough; of writing "illustrious, and needing not illustration," where the Latin lustro seems to have been suggested to the reader partly for the purpose of reminding him that Mrs. Meynell keeps her eye on the Roman ancestors of English words.

Her occasional archaisms, I suppose—harmless little archaisms like "pick you the lock"—count for something in one's general impression. So does the thought she seems to have taken for the order of words, and for the falling of the stresses, in such a sentence as this: "But by the unanimous poet's splendid love of the landscape and the skies, by this also was Swinburne possessed, and in this he triumphed." Or as this, again of Swinburne and the great English poets: "Happy is he to be admitted among these, happy is he to merit by his wonderful voice to sing their raptures." The worst way to write, says Anatole France, is to write too well.

At the root of every "manner," they tell us, you will find a preoccupation or two. Mrs. Meynell, saying she may be prejudiced by a dislike of English anapæsts, adds this parenthesis: "I am aware that the classic terms are not really applicable to our English metres, but the reader will understand that I mean the metre of the lines just quoted"—from the first chorus in Atalanta in Calydon. But this, so far as I can see, is just what the reader would have understood without the help of the parenthesis, which one therefore suspects of having another end to serve. Suspicion becomes conviction when one reads, a few pages further on—so I should write at this point if this were my day for being a slave to routine. But all I really mean is that a suspicion of about the same grade, no stronger and no darker, suggested itself a few pages further on, when I came across another parenthesis: "I must again protest that I use the word 'accent' in a sense that has come to be adapted to English prosody, and is therefore understood by the reader, but I think 'stress' the better word." What I suspect is what we all suspect, namely, that Mrs. Meynell is perhaps not quite enough on guard against letting us see her dislike of the ways of the crowd. She does not love to run with the herd, and she does not hide her impulse to appear egregious (this scholarly "egregious" irritates me).

In other words, I accuse Mrs. Meynell of caring too much for not only the reality but the appearance of distinction. Hence her rare words, sparingly used; hence that dislike of the cliché which gives us many old words renewed and many phrases carefully vivid, but which once in a while shows us something we had rather not have seen—Mrs. Meynell quietly determined to steer clear of the cliché. That she has this preoccupation, and suffers from it, the essays on Tennyson and Swinburne in Hearts of Controversy are perhaps not enough to prove, but I am content to rest my case on them. In the Tennyson she invites us to notice the difference between her and Tennyson's indiscriminate detractors. In the Swinburne she invites us to notice the difference between Swinburne's indiscriminate admirers and her. And since in fact Swinburne's indiscriminate admirers are all dead or very old, and since no one now cares two straws about the opinion of Tennyson's indiscriminate detractors, the two essays give me a little the feeling that Mrs. Meynell has invented a background for her own perceptiveness to be shown against.

In detail, Mrs. Meynell is often modest, as when she says: "Tennyson certainly *worked,* and the exceeding ease of his blank verse comes perhaps of this little paradox—that he makes somewhat too much show of the hiding of his art." One of the finest things ever said about Tennyson, one of the most original and profoundest, surely deserved a simpler introduction than the false humility which calls it "this little paradox." Yet I could wish, so unreasonable does Mrs. Meynell's manner make my demands, that as wholes the Tennyson and the Swinburne had been offered with a greater modesty—less as essays uttered by a lonely voice, more as what every sensible person would nowadays say about these two poets. True, these two essays are not this, by a long chalk. They are received opinions, to be sure, but Mrs. Meynell did not copy her opinions. She got them by a hundred little original acts of perceptiveness and insight. Even if George Meredith had never written of The Idylls of the King, she would have found for herself one of her perfect phrases for Tennyson—"his insipid courtliness." Just as she can refresh a familiar word, by placing it here and not there, so she refreshes received opinions by perceiving for herself their basis.

For "lawns," either the word or the thing, she does not greatly care. "But in Tennyson's page," she goes on, "the word is wonderful, as though it had never been dull: 'The mountain-lawn was dewy-dark.' It is not that he brings the mountains too near, or ranks them in his own peculiar garden-plot, but that the word withdraws, withdraws to summits, withdraws into dreams; the lawn is aloft, alone, and as wild as ancient snow." Yes, it is chiefly for the sake of that last phrase, as you suspected, that I quote the passage, but how clear the two sentences make our feeling!

Do you remember the beginning of The Horizon? It is Mrs. Meynell at her best: "To mount a hill is to lift with you something higher and brighter than yourself or than any meaner burden. You lift the world, you raise the horizon; you give a signal for the distance to stand up. It is like the scene in the Vatican when a Cardinal, with his dramatic Italian hands, bids the kneeling groups to arise. He does more than bid them. He lifts them, he gathers them up, far and near, with the upward gesture of both arms; he takes them to their feet with the compulsion of his expressive force. Or it is as when a conductor takes his players to successive heights of music. You summon the sea, you bring the mountains, the distances unfold unlooked-for wings and take an even flight. You are but a man lifting his weight upon the upward road, but as you climb the circle of the world goes up to face you." And again, a paragraph later: "It is the law whereby the eye and the horizon answer one another that makes the way up a hill so full of universal movement. All the landscape is on pilgrimage. The town gathers itself closer, and its inner harbours literally come to light; the headlands repeat themselves; little cups within the treeless hills open and show their farms."

At her best in this passage, and also at her most characteristic. Mrs. Meynell is most herself when she writes of nature, for which she has a more creative eye than she has for books or men. She tries just as hard with nature, and is just as "distinguished," but somehow one doesn't mind so much.

P. L.

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Philosophy in the Camp

Liberty and Democracy, by Hartley Burr Alexander. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. $1.75 net.

DR. ALEXANDER is by taste and by profession a dealer in the ultimate values of ethics and metaphysics, averse, like most philosophers, to the subordinating of the sincerities of pure thought to the turbulent contention of current issues. Had he written in the time of the War of the Roses or the dynastic wars of the Roi Soleil, he would probably have refrained from alluding to them. Those wars meant nothing to philosophy. But the present war means everything. It puts to a final test two opposing conceptions of ethics; two opposing conceptions of the relation of the individual to the state, indeed, of the meaning of individual and state. When millions of men are dying for liberty or for their loyalty to a superhuman state, for right as an ideal evolved in the long history of civilization or for right as derived directly from might, the true philosopher can not hold himself aloof. "Who indeed can doubt that the decades which are to follow the close of the world's most terrible political war will see men turning avidly to the study of political theory, striving to discover some wisdom of thought which will enable them to reduce the courses of their lives to order and to meet with mastering discipline such great upsurgings of brutish passion? The task of a generation of thinkers is set relentlessly; philosophy must descend from the heights into the camps and towns of men."

We are fighting for democracy. Excellent: but have we real democracy? And if we have, what is the ultimate worth of democracy that we should endure such overwhelming sacrifices in its name? Is not another system exhibiting its superior efficiency in the field of battle? The German system is indeed efficient, but only for a given purpose. Its efficiency is dependent upon its collectivist character. "Men act most efficiently for the accomplishment of determined ends when they act in groups, but they think most effectively when they think in severalty." It follows that "reason must be sought not in collectivist states but in democratical states, where liberty and individualism are prized." What we get as an offset for our democratic inefficiency is a condition in which no over-individual state relieves the individual of his responsibility of judgment and in so doing effectually curtails his freedom of thought and power to reason. What the German pays for his national efficiency lies in his subjection to a collectivity that is essentially an irrational machine, moving relentlessly but blindly over a smooth road or over a precipice, as fate wills.

But if the machine is powerful enough to crush all obstacles is not its way proved right? Might is right, say the Germans; if might survives is not the doctrine validated by cosmic law? The doctrine has been tried before and found wanting. No Realpolitiker has given clearer expression to it than did the Sophists whom Socrates confuted. Germany does not act more consistently upon the principle than did the Greek cities of the time of Socrates. But it was not the doctrine of the Sophists nor the practice of the ruthless politicians of Greece that was incorporated in the law of imperial Rome, to serve later as the basis of a more grandiose civilization. Historically, might has succumbed in the end to the right it holds feeble. From the angle of vision of eternity, Germany has been overthrown.

A sentence quoted here, a page paraphrased there; such are the inadequate means at a reviewer's disposal to indicate the character of a group of essays, each one of which has been wrought out with the greatest sincerity and the purest passion for the truth. Their author's intent is to understand and to explain, not to inveigh. His conclusions are intensely anti-German, but the anti-Germanism flows straight from the principles of reason as the author conceives them. This is the method that philosophers have so often brought with them into political science. It has helped to clarify political science; at the same time it has tended toward a certain unrealism. For example, the antagonism between Germanism and the principle of liberty in Dr. Alexander's scheme: was it in reality so rigorous? As every one must now perceive, German war aims and the war aims of the Allies have undergone a definite evolution during the four years of strife. Most Germans thought at first that they were fighting a defensive war. They are now not far from acknowledging that they are fighting for indemnities and alien lands, as robbers fight for loot. Most of the statesmen of the Allied nations looked at first to incidental nationalistic gains, often of a character that was neither democratic nor altruistic. But Russia survived unbroken long enough to repudiate Constantinople; Italy has repudiated expansion at Jugo-Slav expense; France cherishes no longer the ambitions of the secret treaties; England would be happier if she could devise a disposition of the German colonies that would clear her of all suspicion of coveting them. Germany's policies and those of the Allies have undergone a purification each after its kind. And it is a nice question at what point a policy is sufficiently purified to serve satisfactorily as a philosophic premise, especially when practical consequences, such as the honor or turpitude of the United States in holding herself aloof in the first years of the war, are to be derived from it.

Dr. Alexander's book is open to the criticism that it omits relations which can not be dismissed as irrelevant to the main issue. It must therefore take its place among the prolegomena to the new formulation of political philosophy that must follow the war. But it is just by such tentative analyses, appearing in the midst of events, that we are given assurance that the deeper meanings of the war will not be lost to sight in the confusions of the period of material reconstruction.

A. J.

The Aims of Labor

The Aims of Labour. By Arthur Henderson, M. P. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 50 cents.

THIS is a very valuable document. The British labor movement is today the greatest security we possess of progress. Its foreign aims and domestic ambitions constitute the chief safeguard that the period of political reconstruction will not be characterized by the ignorant conservatism which followed the Napoleonic wars. Nothing bears more striking testimony to the permanent value of educational work in the nineteenth century than that such an essay as this should come from the leader of a working-class movement. Its bold grasp of the main points at issue, its unhesitating liberalism, and its firm insistence upon the part that generosity must play in the great settlement, stand out in vivid contrast to the ideals of 1815. We have some measure of the change when it is remembered how many people listen with profound attention to what Mr. Henderson has to say. It is evidence also of the drift of power that whereas the fundamental problems of 1815 should have been dynastic and territorial, those of our own day are social and economic. The control of the state by

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labor may not be achieved in this generation; but what it stands for is coming more and more to be the creed of most thinking men. It is distinguished from the bankruptcy of conservatism on the one hand, and the disintegration of official liberal ideas, on the other. It is labor only that has any considered programme of reconstruction to offer. From the rest, we have little save the realization that the next age will produce changes of momentous consequence. Political prophecy is notoriously an invitation to disaster; but it is not grasping the impossible to suggest that the underlying ideas for which it proclaims itself sponsor are likely to have the same influence upon legislation as the Benthamite creed of the last age.

The striking thing in Mr. Henderson's essay is the simplicity of its central thesis. He denies that internationalism is dead. Labor the world over has, in his view, a keener consciousness than in any previous time that the stevedore of Hamburg has in sober fact no quarrel with the stevedore of London. He does not shrink from admitting that the torch of death will light new enmities; but he urges that they are the prelude to a richer fraternity. He believes that a new sense of the meaning of equality will come, and a deeper resentment of every class privilege that is not based upon solid achievement. He does not doubt that the new franchise in England has given labor greater opportunities of political conquest than in the past; and he has an immense confidence in the possibilities of that alliance between hand and brain workers which is so significant a change in labor orientation. He demands retention of control over the key industries of the nation; and he is deliberately convinced that immense direct taxation should be imposed for social purposes. He accepts, with an eager enthusiasm, the peace programme of Mr. Wilson because he believes that it is the complement to his own domestic vision. He is definitely opposed to an economic boycott; the Paris resolutions, so far as British labor is concerned, are already dead. He realizes that the willingness of Parliament honestly and eagerly to occupy itself with the problems of labor is the one safeguard against revolution. England before the war had already shown signs of being wearied with declarations of unreal compromise upon the gravest issues; and Mr. Henderson admits that unless political action can justify itself in the next few years, the outlook is far from bright. He is eager for the democratization of the diplomatic service. He rejects any governmental control of public opinion. He is vigilant against that type of bureaucratic interference which is the parent of national servility. He realizes that a victory for the Allied aims is the basis of an adequate readjustment in social matters; but, as he finely says, "victory for the people means something more than the continuance of the old system of production for the profit of a small owning-class, on the basis of wage slavery for the producing classes." The freedom this war is to produce is to be internal no less than external. It is to show itself in the lives of the people not less than in the volume of trade.

It is an inspiring vision, and as the man to whom its translation into the event is above all entrusted, Mr. Henderson has rendered a great service by this revelation of its background. But both we and he should delude ourselves if we for one moment imagined that the struggle will be easily won. It is not the proclamation of a Jeremiah to insist upon the strength of the internal forces of reaction. Upon these Mr. Henderson, except by implication, does not touch, and they are not of course necessary to his argument. But no greater public service could today be rendered than by a book which should seek to analyze the constituent factors of the opposition to liberalism. It would show how strongly the capitalistic organization of society is embedded in the tissues of the state. It would seek to measure how far the insecurity of the humbler commercial class tends to make them regard whatever savors of socialistic enterprise as subversive of the difficult achievement that is already theirs. It would face, with the superb frankness of J. S. Mill, the fact of ignorance in the working-class, the way in which the poverty of our educational systems has hidden the inner mechanism of the economic process from the view of the average man. It would examine the perspective of our law and discuss, for example, the significance of President Hadley's saying that the American constitution is an organized safeguard against the advent of social democracy. It would precisely analyze the secret of the modern indifference to great public questions, and the modern distrust of those who set their feet in political paths. It would recognize that the whole machinery of representative government is today inadequate to its functions. It would show how badly our mechanisms of discussion are in need of renovation. It would ask the very vital question of how far the divergence of liberalism and labor will not, in their conflict, result in what would be the tragedy of a return of conservatism to political power. Above all, it would have to examine the subtle mechanism of that price-system which, as Mr. Justice Brandeis has insisted, and as Professor Hamilton has recently and admirably shown, has ramifications which, at every turn, provide the means of disaster. There is on no side cause for despair; but in our enthusiasm for the new world that is here depicted, we must not forget that it is to rise upon the ruins of the old.

H. J. L.

An English Raconteur

Arthur's, $1.25. Sixpenny Pieces, $1.25. Robert Blatchford, 75 cents. Cottage Pie, $1.25. Clara, $1.25. Simple Simon, $1.25. Kitchener Chaps, 50 cents. Moby Lane and Thereabouts, $1.25. By A. Neil Lyons. New York: John Lane Co.

MR. NEIL LYONS practises a careless art, writing brief episodes of English low life, in an irregular, informal style. He apparently loiters about tram coffee-stalls, the streets frequented by pavement artists, the Embankment. He attaches himself to the practice of a six-penny doctor in a wretched district of London; pursues minor errands along lanes in Sussex or Buckinghamshire and into the villages, spends idle mornings on stiles or in his own garden; and in these war-times goes to France and sells tea and cakes, tobacco and picture postcards behind the lines. With the unlikeliest of materials he can be idyllic. He can also challenge the existing order with flashing pictures of intolerable misery. Then, for all his challenges, he can take a robust delight in the mind and methods of the unworthy poor—the unworthiest. He seems at no pains to maintain a consistent front, sociological or literary. Simple Simon, it is true, is a fairly long story and something of a fable, but its best parts persist in separating and detaching themselves episodic fashion. The other volumes are frankly episodic.

But if Mr. Lyons assembles miscellanies of people and small events, the events are broadly drawn, the people approach the completeness of type, and in the large, groups and classes and the way of their lives are built up in

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substantial character. His brevity is rarely scant. It can be dramatic, not merely brief but swift. The Mile End Sensation reports the essentials of Ellen Wake's trial for her life in five pages; Ellen's witless, restless type is limned, the droning heedlessness of the scene is made tangible, and even in the short space, horror of the blindly resistless way of the law mounts and reaches a climax. In The Way of the East, with an approach which seems casual but whose every sharp stroke tells in the end, there is given a momentary glimpse of a room in an East End dwelling into which life has just been ushered, and the bare and squalid picture comes like a savage thrust. But Mr. Lyons yields to his material, and even with events which might alike seem to stir revolt he can render sensitive differences of mood or feeling.

A sketch called The Window Blind shows four children waiting with curious others at dusk in a mean street—waiting until the blind of a brightly lighted window in the house opposite shall be pulled down. The tragedy is not told directly; we gather from the chance word of a passer-by that there has been a bad accident, that it has befallen the father of the children. The whole effect comes by suggestion. The hard foresight of the mother who arranges the signal is never touched upon, and only implicit is the bitter fact of such restricted living as must send children into the street to make possible the decencies of death. The sketch is kept gently in key with the wondering half-ignorance of the children, and the pathos is the more complete for being unstressed. It is untrembling pathos.

These tales are from Clara and Sixpenny Pieces, London books, but their handling is characteristic, and their sombre color appears over and again, in the London and the country volumes alike. No easy contrasts of mood are to be derived from the groupings. Mr. Lyons can reveal cruelties of mere existence and mixed unlovely human traits as they show themselves along pretty hedgerows and in and about villages, which all but match those of Somers Town, Limehouse Reach, or Mile End. Those who expect only a smocked quaintness from the English countryside might read Arcady and The Foster-Child in Cottage Pie, or The Cramming-Shed and The Stockings in Moby Lane. But there is in Mr. Lyons' work no bias toward ugliness or brutality or even toward tragedy. His variety swings in a wide orbit; and as story follows contrasting story there becomes clear the kind of buoyancy which can touch sadness yet lose nothing of essential humor, a level though sensitive view. If he tells a country tale of gentle instincts thwarted, equally he can create sheer broad fun in describing his own dizzy predicament in one of a pair of swing-boats at a fair, the other being occupied by a stout country maiden with an exuberant passion for swing-boats. Or he can relate divers encounters with a certain Mr. Tracey —"so capable and cheerful and polite and obliging, *for a gardener,*" in the words of old Mrs. Turner—Mr. Tracey, who uproots Jerusalem artichokes, newly set by the Author, as unfit for a garden though possibly well enough in soup, and who declines to plant butter-beans. Says Mr. Tracey: "I throwed the blarsted things away. What be the good of puttin' in sich ugly mannered, noo-fangled truck as that be? What's the matter with a scarlet runner? Can you beat a scarlet runner? Did ever your father eat a button-bean, or whatever 'tis you call the funny thing? No—nor mine neither. Scarlet runners was good enough for them. A proper scarlet runner, properly growed, properly cooked, that will beat all your noo-fangled, ugly-mannered American truck. Major-General Tinker, 'e would 'a died afore 'e'd eat a button-bean."

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Mr. Lyons makes the most of native stupidities, sharpnesses, limitations, foibles; indeed his humor often contains the flick of satire, satire which may be light or boisterous. But this derision if abundant is happy. At its broadest it is allusive, suggestive, reaching down into fundamental human traits. Humor too underlies many of the idyllic pieces, a humor which can dwell upon incongruities, yet keep the while a charm of mood or scene. Even in tragical situations Mr. Lyons is unafraid to find the comic, for he can hold it in relation to his main motive though the piece be of the shortest. Through his recent sketches of the new army, particularly those of A Kiss from France—taking its title from a favorite postcard greeting from the front—runs a current of deep feeling; tragedy is always imminent. But it seems too near to touch. Mr. Lyons' attitude is that of his own Cockney soldiers: like Smiff, he has to laugh. So Britons are drawn in full in spite of the gravity of the times; habits and manners which have settled and become oblivious of their own pompous effect are held up to wicked view, absurdities of event have first place. A Kiss from France is almost gay.

Among all these contrasts and in all this variety, it is the sound and direct revelation of character which makes the pieces substantial, taking them beyond mere impressionism, giving them bulk and even a certain continuity. Character is not always drawn in full; the main effect of the piece may not demand completeness. But the accent of character is present even when individuals are seen only momentarily, merge into a group, or are subject to some generic result of circumstances. When Mr. Lyons fails to realize his people it is apparently from dislike or con-

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tempt or an overweening satirical purpose, as when he now and again hits off the obtuse and interfering rich; such persons are but names and mouthpieces. Occasionally too, like a variety artist with a skit, he dresses up a threadbare theme, or exaggerates an effect, as in the multiple repetitions of "'er name was Maudie an' she come from Newcastle" in A Dialogue with a Soldier, in Clara; and the semblance of life is lost.

But characters in the highly individual sense there are in plenty. They are never picturesque. Mr. Lyons' humor is too shrewd for that. They appear with their natural qualities boldly given, they attitudinize only when the reader shares the fun. First among them, by right of sheer vitality, should come Clara herself, who sells soap and violets and matches on Ludgate Hill. Clara has a fondness for yellow boots. Blue velvet is her favorite dress material. Her hair is red, her bosom ample; she is generous, interfering, inventive, ready of tongue and of wit; and with her, in the book which bears her name, is drawn a large and varied group, for the circle of her acquaintances is wide. Arthur and his coffee-stall in Arthur's are the centre of another mixed coterie. In Sixpenny Pieces there are such patients of Dr. Brink's as the literal Skelps, who come separately to discuss the properties of water as a beverage; Mr. Binney, a stout, red-faced, reverential purveyor of milk, who in less sober moments apostrophizes Dr. Brink in rhyme; Mrs. Gluckstein, with her vaunted low spirits, her richly positive talk, and archaic blessings; mothers with their babies, children sent for a penny powder, not always amusing, tragic often, sometimes seen only in glimpse, but decisively outlined. Even the dim figures of the Tuskers are not dim as to drawing—if objects so battered and sodden can be called characters: Mrs. Tusker is hardly to be told from one of the old sacks on Mr. Tusker's pedlar-cart as it moves up the street. Sellers of rags, bottles, old bones, buyers of old clothes or old iron, women with their possessions in a handkerchief on their way to the hopping, the begging type which begins with a "Please, kind gentleman," or that which enters at once into easy intercourse, these appear over and again, in Moby Lane and Cottage Pie for the most part, Londoners usually, who in a fashion link the London and the country volumes, passing as they do among the true country people, stable and inevitably of the place.

It is most of all through their own speech that Mr. Lyons' characters emerge and become living; dialogue is the pith and centre of all his tales. He catches the revealing things which people say, and he has an incomparable sense of the way these are said, of the vernacular itself in its full color, whether out of Sussex, Buckinghamshire, or the East End of London; he can transmit even cadence and intonation, this with hardly a guiding descriptive word, by a care for slight effects of tone, perhaps often by the mere way in which sentences are gathered or clipped. In the talk of little Mrs. Skelp the lighter sounds which lengthen join with the unfailing drop and rise of her phrases, and a mildly plaintive quality is created which lingers even after her actual words have slipped the mind. The persuasive, tireless, respectful voice of the dealer in "proper antikew le'l pieces," both when he tries to bargain over the horse and when he proffers broken-nosed teapots and decayed firebacks for sale, becomes as insistent with its soft tones as are the ingenious arguments which he so readily improvises. There are voices which are rumbling, patriarchal, self-contained, enunciating the small-talk of the village; there are tortured, sobbing voices whose ache can find no alleviation. There is one of singular beauty, in The Fool's Garden in Cottage Pie. Its timbre comes out deep, resonant, haunting, clear, as the woman's self-told story moves on, with glimpses of her own poetic vision—"for it is a foine oold oak, all twisted and twirly, loike smoke when it comes up solemn from a dyin' foire, an' there weer a pond besoide of it, an' water-buttercups as blew there, white and bashful"—and her unconsciously ironic refrain: "But he weer a Po-wit, mestur, and oi could not 'oold his fancy."

But it is not the rendering of the talk alone which makes the narratives of Mr. Lyons direct and vivid in its address. They are elliptical, allusive. Outlines are seen in a quick flash, omissions are themselves significant. It is difficult to think of them as fiction at all, though at times Mr. Lyons openly declares himself author. They seem the results of actual adventurings, picaresque surely in their variety and in the stratum of existence which they touch. Picaresque they are too in their casual approach; snatches of drama, interchanges of talk, "some bit of 'istory or another" are apparently caught up by the way. Mr. Lyons is convincing because his responsiveness to the moment is so complete. His fresh immediacy springs from a real companionship, with subject and audience alike.

CONSTANCE MAYFIELD ROURKE.

"Immediate Realizations of Life"

Some Imagist Poets. 1917. An Annual Anthology. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 75 cents.

WITH work that above all claims freshness and forthrightness for its intention, it is hard to make the language of response keep up. Often the Imagists have a way of putting the interest they arouse into the form of a breathless old nurse, hurrying after a runaway. They are apt to appear restless, when put into a class, even though they choose to publish under a class name.

Richard Aldington, who leads off—alphabetically—with ten poems, keeps consistently a poet's point of view, writing of the poet training for the war. All his landscapes look English—unless in Dawn "the hill-clefts beyond the flooded meadows" are in France or Flanders? His cry is that war is only tolerable

> "If our wasted blood
> Makes bright the page
> Of poets yet to be."

> "O God, end this bleak anguish."

> "I long vainly for solitude
> And the lapse of silent hours.
> . . . .
> I am so far from beauty."

His "immediate realization of life,"—an aim admittedly of the "new poetry,"—does not inflame a reader's energies, nor does the movement of his verse make breathless. His rhythms seem even still and quiet,—his images sometimes curiously static. "Green ivy about ruined towers" makes one sit as still as a photograph album.

But the next Imagist, H. D. (who is Mrs. Richard Aldington), is unforgettably passionate and energizing. Her images are still only as statues are still—they thrill and give out force. Her verse is cut sharply by the strength of the

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THE war will go in the end to the nation which finds a way to make something from the period of reconstruction.

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Ninety-three million people must have some vivid understanding of democracy in the next few years, not as a derived and echoing slogan, but in some terms of life as we are living it. It seems to be true that we are sovereign people, that even the best cannot be put upon the United States by authority as it can upon Prussia, and that we will act only upon what we universally and as a living fact, know.

There are on this list two books on democracy after the war, for which if we could create a wide reading public in America this list of books would have served its purpose.

There is one on Guild Socialism, the theory of social order which has taken such a strong hold upon the imagination of the English; one by the headmaster of the most important experimental schools in England on education after the war; two on Germany, her use of thought and the method by which she was establishing her commercial supremacy; one on industry; one on finance written by a distinguished inventing engineer of England, who has made millions and has maintained through a long career that finance should not be left in the hands of bankers, but be made accessible to the lay reader; one on the effect of geography on world power; the others on countries and issues little taken account of, which have sprung up since the war began as being crucial ones—Japan, Ireland, the Balkans, the Bagdad Railroad, Alsace-Lorraine, South America and Russia.

Three of the most important men in the country have passed on these books as being the best in their specific fields.

The strength of Germany is her use of knowledge.

The first trade library we made up was for a little furrier around the corner. He would not sell furs without knowing something about fur bearing animals, their habitat and propagation habits. He was a German.

The second was for the keeper of a small restaurant, a discreet eyed little man with the neatest lapels and a depreciating gesture of the head who had promoted himself from a waiter to the head of his own establishment. He knew of one good book called "The Lunch Room." Could we tell him of any others? He was a German.

The one thing the United States must learn from Germany is Use of Thought!

Who is to buy this library?

The fathers and mothers of the men in France. The least we who stay at home can do is to provide the means to attain victory and the knowledge to use it once it is won.

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Every vestige gone—then I am here,
Discovered, setting my foot on another world,
Landed, claiming another terrestrial life.

. . . . .

I put out my hand in the night, one night, and my hand
Touched that which was verily not me,
Verily it was not me.
Where I had been was a sudden blaze,
A sudden, flaring blaze of new being.

. . . . .

It was the Unknown.

. . . . .

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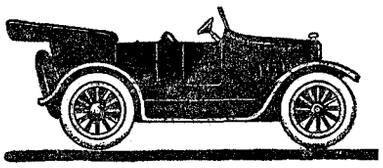

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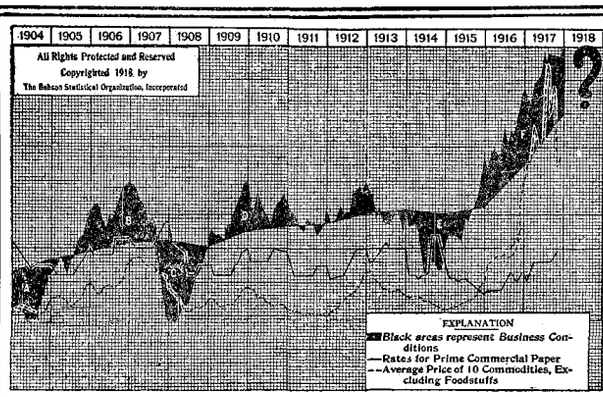
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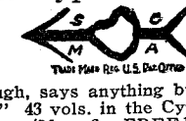

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